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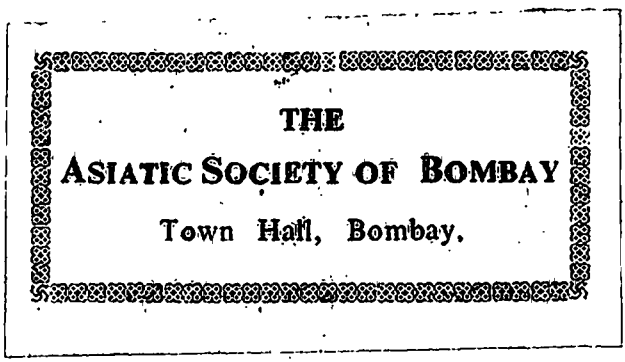

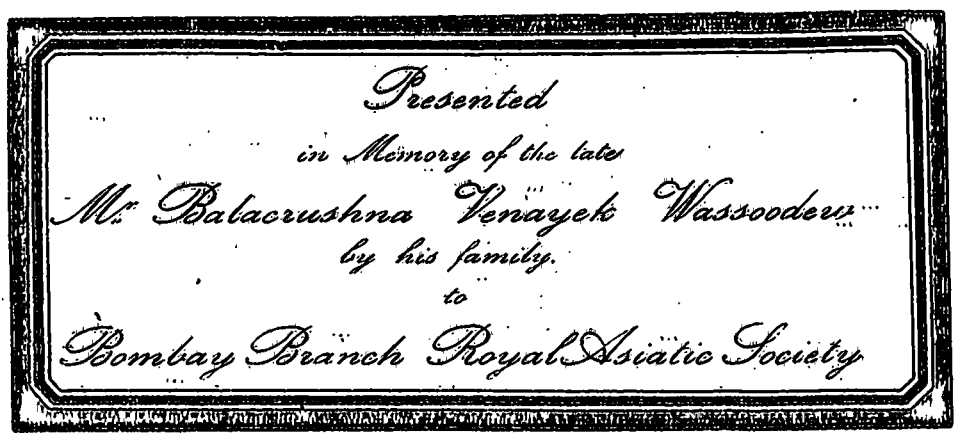

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

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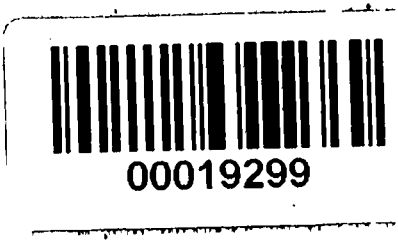

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

BOOK IX. CONTINUED.

CHAP. IV.

History of SOCRATES *abridged.*

AS the death of Socrates is one of the most considerable events of antiquity, I think it incumbent on me to treat that subject with all the extent it deserves. With this view I shall go somewhat back, in order to give the reader a just idea of this Prince of Philosophers. Artax. Mnemon.

Two authors will supply me principally with what I have to say upon this subject: Plato and Xenophon, both disciples of Socrates. It is to them that posterity is indebted for many of his discourses (* as that philosopher left nothing in writing), and for an ample account of all the circumstances of his condemnation and death. Plato was an eye-witness of the whole, and relates, in his Apology, the manner of Socrates's accusation and defence; in his Crito, his refusal to make his escape out of prison; in his Phædon, his admirable dis-

* *Socrates, cujus ingenium variosque sermones immortalitati scriptis suis Plato tradidit, literam nullam reliquit.* Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 57.

Artax. Mnèmon. course upon the immortality of the soul, which was immediately followed by his death. Xenophon was absent at that time, and upon his return to his native country after the expedition of the younger Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes: so that he wrote his Apology of Socrates only from the report of others; but his actions and discourses in his four books of memorable things, he repeats from his own knowledge. Diogenes Laertius has given us the life of Socrates, but in a very dry and abridged manner.

SECT. I. *Birth of Socrates. He applies at first to sculpture; then to the study of the sciences: his wonderful progress in them. His taste for moral philosophy: his manner of living, and sufferings from the ill humour of his wife.*

A. M. 3533. Ant. J. C. 471. [a] SOCRATES was born at Athens in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad. His father Sophroniscus was a sculptor, and his mother Phænarete a midwife. Hence we may observe, that meanness of birth is no obstacle to true merit, in which alone solid glory and real nobility consist. It appears from the comparisons which Socrates often used in his discourses, that he was neither ashamed of his father's nor mother's profession. [b] He was surprised that a sculptor should employ his whole attention to fashion an insensible stone into the likeness of a man, and that a man should take so little pains not to resemble an insensible stone. [c] He would often say, that he exercised the function of a midwife with regard to the mind, in making it bring forth all its thoughts; and this was indeed the peculiar talent of Socrates. He treated subjects in so simple, natural, and clear an order, that he made those with whom he dis-

[a] Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 100. [b] Ibid. p. 110.
[c] Plat. in Theatet. p. 149, &c.

puted say what he wished, and find an answer themselves to all the questions he proposed to them. He at first learned his father's trade, in which he made himself very expert. [d] In the time of Pausanias, there was a Mercury and the Graces still to be seen at Athens of his workmanship; and it is to be presumed, these statues would not have found a place among those of the greatest masters in the art, if they had not been thought worthy of it. Artax. Mnemon.

[e] Crito is reported to have taken him out of his father's shop, from admiration of his fine genius, and the opinion he entertained that it was inconsistent for a young man, capable of the greatest things, to continue perpetually employed upon stone with a chisel in his hand. He was the disciple of Archelaus, who conceived a great affection for him. Archelaus had been pupil to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philosopher. His first study was physics, the works of nature, and the motions of the heavens, stars, and planets, according to the custom of those times, wherein only that part of philosophy was known; and Xenophon[f] assures us that he was very well acquainted with it. But * after having found by his own experience, how difficult, abstruse, and intricate, and at the same time of how little use that kind of learning was to the generality of mankind, he was the first, as Cicero remarks, who conceived the thought of bringing down philosophy from heaven, to place,

[d] Paus. l. ix. p. 596. [e] Diog. p. 101.
[f] Lib. iv. Memorab. p. 710.

* *Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit è cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et coëgit de vitâ et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis quærere.* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 10.

Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus à rebus occultis, et ab ipsâ naturâ involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocavisse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse; ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreret; cœlestia autem vel procul esse à nostrâ cognitione censeret, vel si maximè cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre. Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. i. n. 15.

Artax. Mnemon. it in cities, and introduce it into private houses; humanizing it, if I may use that expression, and rendering it more familiar, more useful in common life, more within the reach of man's capacity, and applying it solely to what might make them more rational, just, and virtuous. [g] He thought it was a sort of folly to devote the whole vivacity of his mind, and employ all his time, in enquiries merely curious, involved in impenetrable darkness, and absolutely incapable of contributing to the happiness of mankind; whilst he neglected to inform himself in the ordinary duties of life, and to learn what is conformable, or opposite to, piety, justice, and probity; in what fortitude, temperance, and wisdom consist; what is the end of all government, what the rules of it, and what qualities are necessary for commanding and ruling well. We shall see in the sequel the use he made of this study.

It was so far from preventing his discharging the duties of a good citizen, that it was the means of making him the more observant of them. He bore arms, as did all the people of Athens; but with more pure and elevated motives. He made many campaigns, was present in many actions, and always distinguished himself by his valour and fortitude. He was seen, towards the end of his life, giving in the senate, of which he was a member, the most shining proofs of his zeal for justice, without being intimidated by the greatest present dangers.

He had accustomed himself early to a sober, severe, laborious life; without which it seldom happens, that men are capable of discharging the greatest part of the duties of good citizens. It is difficult to carry the contempt of riches and the love of poverty farther than he did. [h] He looked upon it as a divine perfection to be in want of nothing; and believed, that the less we are contented

[g] Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 710.
[h] Ibid. p. 731.

with, the nearer we approach to the divinity. *Seeing the pomp and show displayed by luxury in certain ceremonies, and the infinite quantity of gold and silver employed in them: "How many things," said he, congratulating himself on his condition, "do I not want!" *Quantis non egeo!* Artax. Mnemon.

[i] His father left him fourscore minæ, that is to say, about two hundred pounds, which he lent to one of his friends who had occasion for that sum. But the affairs of that friend having taken an ill turn, he lost the whole, and suffered that misfortune with such indifference and tranquillity, that he did not so much as complain of it. [k] We find in Xenophon's Œconomics, that his whole estate amounted to no more than five minæ, or twelve pounds. The richest persons of Athens were among his friends, who could never prevail upon him to accept any share of their wealth. When he was in want of any thing, he was not ashamed to declare it: †"If I had money," said he one day in an assembly of his friends, "I should buy me a "cloak." He did not address himself to any body in particular, but contented himself with that general information. His disciples contended for the honour of making him this small present; which was being too slow, says Seneca; their own observation ought to have anticipated both the want and the demand.

He generously refused the offers and presents of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, who was desirous of having him at his court; adding, that he could not go to a man who could give him more than it was in his power to return. Another philosopher

[i] Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 640.

[k] Xenoph. Œcon. p. 822.

* *Socrates in pompâ, cùm magna vis auri argentique ferretur; Quàm multa non desidero, inquit!* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v.

† *Socrates, amicis audientibus: Emissem, inquit, pallium, si nummos haberem. Neminem poposcit, omnes admonuit. A quo acciperet, ambitus fuit—Post hoc quisquis properaverit, serò dat; jam Socrati defuit.* Senec. de Benef. l. vii. c. 24.

Artax. Mnemon. does not approve this answer. "Would it have "been making a prince a small return," says Seneca, "to undeceive him in his false ideas of gran- "deur and magnificence; to inspire him with a "contempt for riches; to show him the right use "of them; to instruct him in the great art of reign- "ing; in a word, to teach him how to live, and "how to die? But," continues Seneca, "the true "reason which prevented his going to the court of "that prince, was, that he did not think it consistent "for him to seek a voluntary servitude, whose li- "berty even a free city could not tolerate." *Noluit ire ad voluntariam servitutem is cujus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit.*[l]

[m]The peculiar austerity of his life did not render him gloomy and morose, as was common enough with the philosophers of those times. [n] In company and conversation he was always gay and facetious, and the life and soul of the entertainment. Though he was very poor, he piqued himself upon the neatness of his person and house, and could not endure the ridiculous affectation of Antisthenes, who always wore dirty and ragged clothes. He told him once, that through the holes in his cloak, and the rest of his tatters, abundance of vanity might be discerned.

One of the most distinguishing qualities of Socrates, was a tranquillity of soul, that no accident, no loss, no injury, no ill treatment, could ever alter. Some have believed, that he was by nature hasty and passionate, and that the moderation, to which he had attained, was the effect of his reflections, and of the efforts he had made to subdue and correct himself; which would still add to his merit. [o] Seneca tells us, that he had desired his friends to apprise him whenever they saw him ready to fall

[l] Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6.
[m] Xenoph. in Conviv.
[n] Ælian. l. iv. c. 11. & l. ix. c. 35.
[o] Senec. de Irâ, l. iii. c. 15.

into a passion, and that he had given them that privilege over him, which he took himself with them. * Indeed the best time to call in aid against a passion which has so violent and sudden a power over us, is when we are yet ourselves, and in cool blood. At the first signal, the least hint, he either softened his tone, or was silent. Finding himself exasperated against a slave; "I would beat you," says he, "if I were not angry:" [p] *Cæderem te, nisi irascerer.* Having received a box on the ear, he contented himself with only saying, with a smile; "[q] It is a misfortune not to know when to put on "a helmet." Artax. Mnemon.

Without going out of his own house, he found enough to exercise his patience in all its extent. Xantippe, his wife, put it to the severest proofs by her capricious, passionate, violent disposition. It seems that, before he took her for his companion, he was not ignorant of her character; and he says himself in Xenophon, [r] that he had expressly chosen her, from the conviction, that if he should be capable of bearing her insults, there would be nobody, though ever so difficult to endure, with whom he could not live. If this was the view with which he married her, it was certainly fully answered. Never was woman of so violent and fantastical a spirit, and so bad a temper. There was no kind of abuse or injurious treatment, which he had not to experience from her. She would sometimes be transported with such an excess of rage, as to tear off his cloak in the open street;[s] and even one day, after having vented all the reproaches her fury could suggest, she emptied a pot of foul water upon his head: at which he only laughed, and said, "That "so much thunder must needs produce a shower."

[p] Senec. de Irâ, l. i. c. 15.
[q] Ibid. l. iii. c. 11.
[r] Xenoph. in Conviv. p. 876.
[s] Diog. in Socrat. p. 112.

* *Contra potens malum et apud nos gratiosum, dum conspicimus, et nostri sumus, advocemus.*

Artax. Mnemon. [t] Some ancient authors write, that Socrates married a second wife, named Myrto, who was the grand-daughter of Aristides the Just, and that he suffered exceedingly from them both, as they were continually quarrelling with each other, and never agreed, but in loading him with reproaches, and offering him the grossest insults. They pretend, that during the Peloponnesian war, after the pestilence had swept off great part of the Athenians, a decree was made, whereby, to retrieve the sooner the ruins of the republic, each citizen was permitted to have two wives at the same time, and that Socrates took the benefit of this new law. Those authors found this circumstance solely upon a passage in a treatise on nobility, ascribed to Aristotle. But, besides that, according to Plutarch himself, Panætius, a very grave author, has fully refuted this opinion, neither Plato nor Xenophon, who were well acquainted with all that related to their master, say any thing of this second marriage of Socrates; and on another side, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, who have treated at large all the particulars of the Peloponnesian war, are alike silent in regard to the pretended decree of Athens, which permitted bigamy. We may see in the first volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, a dissertation of Monsieur Hardion's upon this subject; wherein he demonstrates, that the second marriage of Socrates, and the decree respecting bigamy, are supposititious facts.

Sect. II. *Of the Dæmon, or familiar Spirit, of Socrates.*

Our knowledge of Socrates would be defective if we knew nothing of the Genius, which, he pretended, assisted him with its counsel and protection in the greatest part of his actions. It is not agreed

[t] Plut. in Aristid. p. 335. Athen. l. xiii. p. 555. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 105.

amongst authors what this Genius was, commonly called, *The Dæmon of Socrates*, from the Greek word Δαιμόνιον, that signifies something of a divine nature, conceived as a secret voice, a sign, or such an inspiration as diviners are supposed to have had: this Genius dissuaded him from the execution of his designs when they would have been prejudicial to him, without ever inducing him to undertake any action: [u] *Esse divinum quoddam, quod Socrates dæmonium appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti, sæpe revocanti.* [x] Plutarch, in his treatise entitled, *Of the Genius of Socrates*, relates the different sentiments of the ancients concerning the existence and nature of this Genius. I shall confine myself to that which seems the most natural and reasonable of them all, though he does not lay much stress upon it. Artax. Mnemon.

We know that the Divinity alone has a clear and unerring knowledge of futurity: that man cannot penetrate into its darkness but by uncertain and confused conjectures: that those who succeed best in that research, are such, as by a more exact and studied comparison of the different causes capable of influencing future events, discern with greater force and perspicuity, what will be the result and issue of the conflict of those different causes in conducing to the success or miscarriage of an effect or enterprise. This foresight and discernment has something of divine in it, exalts us above the rest of mankind, approximates us to the Divinity, and makes us participate in some measure in his counsels and designs, by giving us an insight and foreknowledge, to a certain degree, of what he has ordained concerning the future. Socrates had a just and piercing judgment, joined with the most exquisite prudence. He might call this judgment and prudence Δαιμόνιον, *something divine*, using indeed a kind of equivocal expression, without attributing to himself however the merit due to his wisdom in

[u] Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 122. [x] Pag. 580.

Artax. Mnemon.

forming conjectures with regard to the future. The Abbé Fraguier comes very near the same opinion in the dissertation he has left us upon this subject in the [y] Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

[z] The effect, or rather function, of this Genius, was to stop and prevent his acting, without ever inducing him to act. He received also the same impulse, when his friends were going to engage in any unlucky affair, which they communicated to him; and several instances are related, wherein they found themselves under much inconvenience from not having believed him. Now what other signification can be given to this, than that it implies, under mysterious terms, a mind, which by its own lights, and the knowledge of mankind, has attained a sort of insight into futurity? And if Socrates had not intended to lessen in his own person the merit of an unerring judgment, by attributing it to a kind of instinct; if at bottom he had desired any thing to be understood, besides the general aid of the divine wisdom, which speaks in every man by the voice of reason; would he have escaped, says Xenophon, [a] the imputation of arrogance and falsehood?

[b] God has always prevented me from speaking to you, says he to Alcibiades, whilst the tenderness of your age would have rendered my discourses of no utility to you. But I conceive I may now enter into a dispute with you, as an ambitious young man, for whom the laws open a way to the dignities of the republic. Is it not visible here, that prudence prevented Socrates from conversing seriously with Alcibiades at a time when grave and serious conversation would have given him a disgust, of which he might perhaps never have got the better? [c] And when, in the dialogue upon the Republic, Socrates ascribes his avoiding public business to inspiration from above, does he mean any thing more than what he says in his Apology, that a just and good

[y] Tom. iv. p. 368.
[z] Plat. in Theag. p. 128.
[a] Memorab. l. i. p. 708.
[b] Plat. in Alcib. p. 150.
[c] Lib. vi. de Rep. p. 496. Apolog. Soc. p. 31, 32.

man, who, in a corrupt state, intermeddles with the government, is not long without perishing? If[d] when he was going to appear before the judges that were to condemn him, that divine voice does not make itself heard to prevent him, as it was accustomed to do upon dangerous occasions, the reason is, that he did not deem it a misfortune for him to die, especially at his age, and in his circumstances. Every body knows what his prognostication had been long before, with respect to the unfortunate expedition of Sicily. He attributed it to his Dæmon, and declared it to be the inspiration of that spirit. A wise man, who sees an affair ill concerted, and conducted with precipitation, may easily prophesy the event of it, without the aid of a dæmon's inspiration. Artax. Mnemon.

It must be allowed, however, that the opinion which gives to men, genii and angels to direct and guard them, was not unknown, even to the Pagans. [e] Plutarch cites some verses of Menander, in which that poet expressly says, *That every man at his birth has a good Genius given him, which attends him during the whole course of his life as a guide and director.*

Ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαραστατεῖ
Εὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τῆ βίᾳ
Ἀγαθός.

It may be believed with probability enough, that the Dæmon of Socrates, which has been so differently spoken of as to make it a question whether it was a good or bad angel, was no more than the force and rectitude of his judgment, which acting according to the rules of prudence, and with the aid of a long experience, supported by wise reflections, made him foresee the events of those things, upon which he was either consulted, or deliberated himself.

[d] Apolog. Soc. p. 40. [e] De anim. tranquil. p. 474.

Artax. Mnemon. I conceive at the same time, that he was not sorry the people should believe him inspired, or that his acquaintance with futurity was the effect of a divinity, whatsoever that might be. That opinion might exalt him very much in the mind of the Athenians, and give him an authority, of which it is well known that the greatest * persons of the Pagan world were very fond, and which they endeavoured to acquire by secret communications, and pretended conferences, with some divinity: but it likewise drew the jealousy of many of the citizens upon him.

SECT. III. *Socrates declared the wisest of mankind by the oracle of Delphi.*

[f] THIS declaration of the oracle, so advantageous in appearance for Socrates, did not a little contribute to the inflaming envy, and stirring up of enemies against him, as he tells us himself in his Apology, wherein he recounts the occasion, and true meaning, of that oracle.

Chærephon, a zealous disciple of Socrates, happening to be at Delphi, demanded of the oracle, whether there was a wiser man than Socrates in the world: the priestess replied, there was none. This answer puzzled Socrates extremely, and he could scarce comprehend the meaning of it. For on the one side, he well knew, says he of himself, that there was no wisdom in him, neither little nor great; and on the other, he could not suspect the oracle of falsehood, the divinity being incapable of telling a lie. He therefore considered it attentively, and

[f] Plat. in Apolog. p. 21, 22.

* Lycurgus and Solon had recourse to the authority of oracles to advance their credit. Zaleucus pretended, that his laws had been dictated to him by Minerva. Numa Pompilius boasted his conferences with the goddess Egeria. The first Scipio Africanus made the people believe that the gods gave him secret counsels. Even Sertorius's hind had something divine in it.

took great pains to penetrate the meaning of it. At first he applied himself to a powerful citizen, a statesman, and a great politician, who passed for one of the wisest men of the city, and who was himself still more convinced of his own merit than others. He found by his conversation that he knew nothing, and insinuated as much to him in terms sufficiently intelligible; which made him extremely odious to that citizen, and all who were present. He did the same by several others of the same profession, and all the fruit of his enquiry was, to draw upon himself a greater number of enemies. From the statesmen he addressed himself to the poets, whom he found still fuller of self-esteem, but really more void of knowledge and wisdom. He pursued his enquiries to the artisans, and could not meet with one, who, because he succeeded in his own art, did not believe himself very capable, and fully informed in all other points of the greatest consequence; which presumption was the almost universal failing of the Athenians. As they had naturally abundance of wit, they pretended to know every thing, and believed themselves capable of pronouncing upon all matters. His enquiries amongst strangers were not more successful. Artax. Mnemon.

Socrates afterwards entering into and comparing himself with all those he had questioned, *discovered, that the difference between him and them was, that they all believed they knew what they did not know, and that for his part, he sincerely avowed his ignorance. From thence he concluded, that GOD alone is truly wise, and that the true meaning of his oracle was to signify, that all human wisdom was no great matter, or, to speak more properly,

* *Socrates in omnibus ferè sermonibus sic disputat, ut nihil affirmet ipse, refellat alios: nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum, eóque præstare cæteris, quòd illi, quæ nesciant, scire se putent; ipse se nihil scire id unum sciat, ob eamque rem se arbitrari ab Apolline omnium sapientissimum esse dictum, quòd hæc esset una omnis sapientia, non arbitrari se scire quod nesciat.* Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. i. n. 15, 16.

Artax. Mnemon. was nothing at all. And as to the oracle's naming me, it no doubt did so, says he, by way of setting me up for an example, as if it intended to declare to all men, The wisest amongst you is he, who knows, like Socrates, that there is no real wisdom in him.

SECT. IV. *Socrates devotes himself entirely to the instruction of the youth of Athens. Affection of his disciples for him. The admirable principles with which he inspires them both with respect to government and religion.*

AFTER having related some particularities in the life of Socrates, it is time to proceed to that in which his character principally and peculiarly consisted; I mean, the pains he took to instruct mankind, and particularly to form the youth of Athens.

[g] He seemed, says Libanius, the common father of the republic, so attentive was he to the happiness and advantage of all his countrymen. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the instruction of youth, in order to sow the seeds of virtue in a soil more fit to produce the fruits of it.

[h] He had no open school like the rest of the philosophers, nor set times for his lessons. He had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a professor's chair. He was the philosopher of all times and seasons. He taught in all places, and upon all occasions; in walking, conversation, at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the public assemblies of the senate or people, in prison itself, and when he drank the poison, he philosophized, says Plutarch, and instructed mankind. And from thence the same judicious author takes occasion to

[g] In Apol. Socrat. p. 641.
[h] Plut. an seni sit ger. resp. p. 796.

establish a great principle on the subject of government, which Seneca * before him had placed in its full light. To be a public man, says he, it is not necessary to be actually in office, to wear the robe of judge or magistrate, and to sit in the highest tribunals for the administration of justice. Many do this, who, though honoured with the fine names of orators, prætors, and senators, if they want the merit of those characters, ought to be regarded as private persons, and often deserve to be confounded with the lowest and vilest of the populace. But whoever knows how to give wise counsel to those who consult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to inspire them with sentiments of probity, equity, generosity, and love of their country; such a man, says Plutarch, is the true magistrate and ruler, in whatsoever condition or place he be. Artax. Mnemon.

Such was Socrates. The services he did the state, by the instructions he gave their youth, and the disciples he formed, are inexpressibly great. Never had master a greater number, nor more illustrious. Had Plato been the only one, he would be worth a multitude. [i] Upon the point of death he blessed and thanked GOD for three things; that he had endowed him with a rational soul, that he was born a Greek, and not a barbarian, and that he had placed his birth in the lifetime of Socrates. Xenophon [k] had the same advantage. It is said, that one day Socrates met him in the street, and

[i] Plut. in Mario, p. 433. [k] Diog. in Xenoph. p. 120.

* *Habet ubi se etiam in privato latè explicet magnus animus— Ita delituerit (vir ille) ut ubicunque otium suum absconderit, prodesse velit et singulis et universis, ingenio, voce, consilio. Nec enim is solus reip. prodest, qui candidatos extrahit, et tuetur reos, et de pace belloque censet, sed qui juventutem exhortetur, qui in tantâ bonorum præceptorum inopiâ virtute instruit animos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque cursu ruentes prensat ac retrahit, et, si nihil aliud, certè moratur, in privato publicum negotium agit. An ille plus præstat, qui inter peregrinos et cives, aut urbanus prætor adeuntibus adcessoris verba pronunciat; quàm qui docet, quid sit justitia, quid pietas, quid patientia, quid fortitudo, quid mortis contemptus, quid deorum intellectus, quàm gratuitum bonum sit conscientia?* SENEC. de tranquil. anim. c. iii.

Artax. Mnemon. stopping him with his staff, asked him whether he knew where provisions were sold? It was not difficult to answer this question. But Socrates having demanded in what place men learned virtue, and seeing this second question put him to a stand: "If you desire to know it," continued the philosopher, "follow me, and you shall be informed." Which he did immediately, and was afterwards the first who collected and published his master's discourses.

[l] Aristippus, upon a conversation with Ischomachus, in which he had introduced some strokes of Socrates's doctrine, conceived so ardent a passion to become his disciple, that he grew lean and wan in consequence of it, till he could go to the fountain head, and imbibe his fill of a philosophy, that taught the knowledge of evil, and its cure.

What is reported of Euclid the Megarian, explains still better how high the eagerness of Socrates's disciples ran, to receive the benefit of his instructions. [m] There was at that time an open war between Athens and Megara, which was carried on with so much animosity, that the Athenians obliged their generals to take an oath to lay waste the territory of Megara twice a year, and prohibited the Megarians to set foot in Attica upon pain of death. This decree could not extinguish nor suspend the zeal of Euclid. [n] He left his city in the evening in the disguise of a woman, with a veil upon his head, and came to the house of Socrates in the night, where he continued till the approach of day, when he returned in the same manner he came.

The ardour of the young Athenians to follow him was incredible. They left father and mother, and renounced all parties of pleasure, to attach themselves to him, and to hear his discourses. We may judge of this by the example of Alcibiades, the

[l] Plut. de curios. p. 516. [m] Plut. in Peric. p. 168.
[n] Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 10.

most ardent and fiery of all the Athenians. The philosopher, however, never spared him, and was always careful to calm the sallies of his passions, and to rebuke his pride, which was his great disease. I have before related some instances of this temper of his. [o] One day when Alcibiades was boasting of his wealth, and the great estates in his possession, (for this it is which generally puffs up the pride of young people of quality,) he carried him to a geographical map, and asked him to find Attica. It was so small it could scarcely be discerned upon that draught; he found it, however, though with some difficulty: but upon being desired to point out his own estate there, "It is too small," says he, "to be "distinguished in so little a space." "See then," replied Socrates, "what consequence you attach to "an imperceptible spot of land." This reasoning might have been urged much further still. For what was Attica compared to all Greece, Greece to Europe, Europe to the whole world, and the world itself to the vast extent of the infinite orbs which surround it? What an insect, what a nothing, is the most powerful prince of the earth in the midst of this abyss of bodies and immense spaces, and what a portion of it does he occupy! Artax. Mnemon.

The young people of Athens, dazzled with the glory of Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, and full of a wild ambition, after having received for some time the lessons of the sophists, who promised to make them very great politicians, conceived themselves capable of every thing, and aspired at the highest employments. [p] One of these, named Glauco, had taken it so strongly into his head to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, though not yet twenty years old, that none of his family or friends were able to divert him from a design so little suited to his age and capacity. Socrates, who had an affection for him upon account of Plato his

[o] Ælian. l. iii. c. 28.

[p] Xenoph. Memorab. l. iii. p. 772—774.

Artax. Mnemon. brother, was the only person that could prevail upon him to change his resolution.

Meeting him one day, he accosted him with so much address and dexterity, that he engaged him to give him the hearing, which was already a great point gained. "You are desirous then of governing the "republic?" said he to him. "True," replied Glauco. "You cannot have a more noble design," answered Socrates: "for if you succeed, you will have "it in your power to serve your friends effectually, "to aggrandize your family, and to extend the con- "fines of your country. You will make yourself "known not only at Athens, but throughout all "Greece; and perhaps your renown, like that of "Themistocles, may spread abroad amongst the "barbarous nations. In short, wherever you are, "you will attract the respect and admiration of the "whole world."

So smooth and insinuating a prelude was extremely pleasing to the young man, who was attacked on his blind side. He staid willingly, without requiring to be pressed so to do, and the conversation continued. "Since you desire to be esteemed "and honoured, no doubt your view is to be useful "to the public?" "Certainly." "Tell me then, "I beg you, in the name of the gods, what is the "first service you propose to render the state?" As Glauco seemed at a loss, and meditated upon what he should answer: "I presume," continues Socrates, "it is to enrich it, that is to say, to augment its re- "venues." "Exactly so." "You are well versed "then undoubtedly in the revenues of the state, "and know perfectly to what they may amount? "You have not failed to make them your particu- "lar study, in order that if a fund should happen "to fail on a sudden by any unforeseen accident, "you might be able to supply the deficiency by "another?" "I protest," replied Glauco, "that "never entered into my thoughts." "At least you "will tell me to what the expences of the republic "amount; for you must know the importance of

" retrenching such as are superfluous?" " I own " I am as little informed in this point as the other." Artax. Mnemon.
" You must therefore defer your design of enrich-
" ing the state till another time; for it is impossi-
" ble you should do it, whilst you are unacquaint-
" ed with its revenues and expences."

" But," said Glauco, " there is still another
" means which you have not mentioned. A state
" may be enriched by the ruin of its enemies."
" You are in the right," replied Socrates. " But
" that depends upon its being the strongest; other-
" wise it incurs the danger of losing what it has.
" For which reason, he who talks of engaging in a
" war, ought to know the forces on both sides; that
" if he finds his own party strongest, he may boldly
" advise the war, and if weakest, dissuade the peo-
" ple from undertaking it. Now do you know the
" strength of our republic, and that of our enemies,
" by sea and land? Have you a state of them in
" writing? Be so kind as to let me see it." " I
" have it not at present," said Glauco. " I see,
" then, said Socrates, " that we shall not soon
" enter into a war, if you are charged with the go-
" vernment; for you have abundance of enquiries
" to make, and much pains to go through, before
" you will resolve upon it."

He ran over in this manner several other articles of no less importance, with which Glauco appeared equally unacquainted; till he brought him to confess how ridiculous those people were, who have the rashness to intrude themselves into the administration of affairs, without any other preparation for the service of the public than that of a high esteem for themselves, and an immoderate ambition of rising to the first places and dignities. " Have a care, dear Glauco," said he to him, " lest a too warm desire of honours should deceive " you into pursuits that may cover you with shame, " by setting your incapacity and slender abilities " in full light."

Artax. Mnemon. Glauco improved from the wise admonitions of Socrates, and took time to inform himself in private before he ventured to appear in public. This is a lesson for all ages, and may be very useful to persons in all stations and conditions of life.

[q] Socrates did not urge his friends to enter early upon public employments; but first to take pains to improve their minds by the knowledge necessary to their success in them. [r] "A man must be very "simple," said he, "to believe that the mechanic "arts are to be acquired without the help of "proper masters, and that the knowledge requisite "in governing states, which is the highest degree "of human prudence, demands no previous labour "and application." His great care, in regard to those who aspired at public employments, was to form their manners upon the solid principles of probity and justice; and especially to inspire them with a sincere love of their country, with the most ardent passion for the public good, and a high idea of the power and goodness of the gods; because, without these qualities, all other abilities serve only to render men more wicked, and more capable of doing evil. Xenophon has transmitted to us a conversation of Socrates with Euthydemus, upon Providence, which is one of the finest passages to be found in the writings of the ancients.

"Did you never reflect within yourself," says Socrates to Euthydemus, "how much care the gods "have taken to bestow upon man all that is neces- "sary for him?" "Never, I assure you," replied he. "You see," continued Socrates, "how necessary "light is, and how precious that gift of the gods "ought to appear to us." "Without it," added Euthydemus, "we should be like the blind, and all "nature as if it were dead: but because we have "occasion for intervals of relaxation, they have also "given us the night for our repose." "You are in "the right; and for this we ought to render them

[q] Xenoph. Memorab. l. iv. p. 800. [r] Ibid. p. 792.

" continual praises and thanksgiving. They have Artax.
" ordained that the sun, that bright and luminous Mnemon.
" star, should preside over the day to distinguish
" its different parts, and that its light should serve
" not only to discover the wonders of nature, but to
" dispense over every part life and heat; and at the
" same time they have commanded the moon and
" stars to illuminate the night, which of itself is
" dark and obscure. Is there any thing more wor-
" thy of admiration than this variety and vicissitude
" of day and night, of light and darkness, of labour
" and rest;—and all this for the convenience and
" good of man?" Socrates enumerates in like manner the infinite advantages we receive from fire and water for the necessaries of life; and continuing to observe upon the wonderful attention of Providence in all that regards us: " What say you," pursued he, " upon the sun's return after winter to revisit
" us; and that as the fruits of one season wither
" and decay, he ripens new ones to succeed them?
" that having rendered man this service, he retires,
" lest he should incommode him by excess of heat;
" and then, after having receded to a certain point,
" which he could not pass without putting us in
" danger of perishing with cold, that he returns in
" the same track to resume his place in those parts
" of the heavens where his presence is most bene-
" ficial to us? And because we could neither sup-
" port the cold nor heat, if we were to pass in an
" instant from the one to the other, are you not
" struck with admiration that this luminary ap-
" proaches and removes so slowly, that the two
" extremes arrive by almost insensible degrees?
" * Is it possible not to discover, in this diposition
" of the seasons of the year, a providence and
" goodness attentive not only to our necessities,
" but even to our delights and enjoyments?"

* Ὡραις ἁρμοττούσας πρὸς τοῦτο παρέχειν, αἳ ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον ὧν δεόμεθα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα παρασκευάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς εὐφραινόμεθα.

Artax. Mnemon. "All these things," said Euthydemus, "make me doubt whether the gods have any other employment than to shower down their gifts and benefits upon mankind. There is one point, however, that puts me to a stand, which is, that the brute animals partake of all these blessings as well as ourselves." "Yes," replied Socrates: "but do you not observe, that all these animals subsist only for man's service? The strongest and most vigorous of them he subjects at his will; he makes them tame and gentle, and employs them with great advantage in war, tillage, and the other occasions of life."

"What if we consider man in himself?" Here Socrates examines the diversity of the senses, by the ministry of which man enjoys all that is best and most excellent in nature; the vivacity of his mind, and therefore of his reason, which exalt him infinitely above all other animals; the wonderful gift of speech, by the means of which we communicate our thoughts reciprocally, publish our laws, and govern states.

"From all this," says Socrates, "it is easy to discern that there are gods, and that they have man in their particular care, though he cannot discover them by his senses. Do we perceive the thunder whilst it crushes every thing which opposes it? Do we distinguish the winds whilst they make such dreadful havoc before our eyes? Our soul itself, which is so intimately connected with us, which moves and actuates us, is it visible; can we behold it?—It is the same with regard to the gods, of whom none are visible in the distribution of their favours. This GREAT GOD himself," (these words are remarkable, and demonstrate that Socrates acknowledged one supreme GOD, the Author of all being, and superior to all others, who were only the ministers of his will,) "this GREAT GOD, who has formed the universe, and supports the stupendous work, whose every part,

" is finished with the utmost goodness and harmony; Artax. Mnemon.
" he who preserves them perpetually in immortal
" vigour, and causes them to obey him with a never-
" failing punctuality, and a rapidity not to be fol-
" lowed by our imagination; this God makes him-
" self sufficiently visible by the endless wonders of
" which he is author; but continues always invisible
" in himself. Let us not then refuse to believe
" even what we do not see; and let us supply the
" defects of our corporeal eyes, by using those of
" the soul: but especially let us learn to render the
" just homage of respect and veneration to the Di-
" vinity, whose will it seems to be, that we should
" have no other perception of him than by his be-
" nefits bestowed on us. Now this adoration, this
" homage, consists in pleasing him, and we can only
" please him in doing his will."

[s] In this manner Socrates instructed youth; these are the principles and sentiments with which he inspired them: on the one side, a perfect submission to the laws and magistrates, in which he made justice consist; on the other, a profound regard for the Divinity, which constitutes religion. In things surpassing our understanding, he advises us to consult the gods; and as they impart themselves only to those that please them, he recommends above all things the making of them propitious by a prudent and regular conduct. * "The gods are free," says he, "and it depends upon them either to grant what
" we ask, or to give us the directly reverse of it."
He cites an excellent prayer from a poet whose name has not come down to us: "Great God, give us, we
" beseech thee, those good things of which we stand
" in need, whether we crave them or not; and
" remove from us all those which may be hurtful
" to us, even though we implore them of thee."
The vulgar imagined, that there are things which

[s] Xenoph. Memorab. l. iv. p. 803 & 805.

* Ἐπὶ θεοῖς ἐστιν, οἶμαι, ὥστε καὶ διδόναι ἅττ' ἂν τις εὐχόμενος τυγχάνῃ, καὶ τἀναντία τούτων. Plat. in Alcib. ii. p. 148.

Artax. Mnemon. the gods observe, and others of which they take no notice: but Socrates taught, that the gods observe all our actions and words; that they penetrate into our most secret thoughts; are present in all our deliberations; and that they inspire us in all our actions.

SECT. V. *Socrates applies himself to discredit the sophists in the opinion of the young Athenians. What is to be understood of the ironical character ascribed to him.*

SOCRATES found it necessary to guard the young people against a bad taste which had prevailed for some time in Greece. A sect of assuming men arose, who, ranking themselves as the first sages of Greece, were in their conduct entirely the reverse. For instead of being infinitely remote from all avarice and ambition, like Pittacus, Bias, Thales, and the others, who made the study of wisdom their principal occupation, these men were ambitious and covetous, entered into the intrigues and affairs of the world, and made a trade of their pretended knowledge. They called themselves *sophists. They wandered from city to city, and caused themselves to be cried up as oracles, and walked about attended by crowds of their disciples, who, through a kind of enchantment, abandoned the embraces of their parents to follow these proud teachers, whom they paid a great price for their instruction. There was nothing these masters did not profess:—theology, physics, ethics, arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, music, poetry, rhetoric, and history. They knew every thing, and could teach every thing. Their greatest supposed skill lay in philosophy and eloquence. Most of them, like Gorgias, valued themselves upon giving

[t] Plat. in Apolog. p. 19, 20.

* *Sic enim appellantur hi qui ostentationis aut quæstûs causâ philosophantur.* Cic. in Lucul. n. 129.

immediate answers to all questions that could be proposed to them. Their young disciples acquired nothing from their precepts, but a silly esteem for themselves, and an universal contempt for every body else; so that not a scholar quitted these schools, but was more impertinent than when he first entered them. Artax. Mnemon.

It was necessary to decry the false eloquence and bad logic of these proud teachers in the opinion of the young Athenians. To attack them openly, and dispute with them in a direct manner, by a connected discourse, was what Socrates could well have done, for he possessed in a supreme degree the talents of elocution and reasoning; but this was not the way to succeed against great harranguers, whose sole aim was to dazzle their auditors with a vain glitter and rapid flow of words. He therefore took another course, and * employing the artifices and address of irony, which he knew how to apply with wonderful art and delicacy, he chose to conceal, under the appearance of simplicity and the affectation of ignorance, all the beauty and great force of his genius. Nature, which had given him so fine a soul, seemed to have formed his outside expressly for supporting the ironic character. He was very ugly, and, besides that, † had something very dull and stupid in his physiognomy. The whole air of his person, which had nothing but what was very common and very poor in it, perfectly corresponded with that of his countenance.

When ‡ he happened to fall into the company of

* *Socrates in ironiâ dissimulantiâque longè omnibus lepore atque humanitate præstitit.* Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 270.

† *Zopyrus physiognomon—stupidum esse Socratem dixit et bardum.* Cic. de Fat. n. 10.

‡ *Socrates de se ipse detrahens in disputatione, plus tribuebat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita cùm aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est illâ dissimulatione quam Græci εἰρωνείαν vocant.* Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 15.

Sed et illum quem nominavi (Gorgiam) et cæteros sophistas, ut Platone intelligi potest, lusos videmus à Socrate. Is enim per-

Artax. Mnemon. some one of these sophists, he proposed his doubts with a diffident and modest air, asked simple questions in a plain manner, and, as if he had been incapable of expressing himself otherwise, made use of trivial comparisons, and allusions taken from the meanest employments. The sophist heard him with a scornful attention, and instead of giving him a precise answer, had recourse to his commonplace phrases, and talked a great deal without saying any thing to the purpose. Socrates, after having praised (in order not to enrage) his adversary, entreated him to adapt himself to his weakness, and to descend so low as him, by satisfying his questions in a few words; because neither his wit nor memory were capable of comprehending or retaining so many fine and exalted notions, and all his knowledge was confined to question and answer.

This passed in a numerous assembly, and the teacher could not recede. When Socrates had once got him out of his intrenchment, by obliging him to answer his questions succinctly, he carried him on from one to another, to the most absurd consequences; and after having reduced him either to contradict himself, or be silent, he complained that the learned man would not vouchsafe to instruct him. The young people, however, perceived the incapacity of their master, and changed their admiration for him into contempt. Thus the name of sophist became odious and ridiculous.

It is easy to judge that men of the sophists' character, of which I have now spoken, who were in high credit with the great, who lorded it amongst the youth of Athens, and had been long celebrated for their wit and learning, could not be attacked with impunity; and the rather, because they had been assailed in the two most sensible points, their

contando atque interrogando elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibuscum disserebat, ut ad ea, quæ ii respondissent, si quid videretur, diceret. Cic. de Finib. l. ii. n. 2.

fame and their interest. [u] Socrates, for having endeavoured to unmask their vices and discredit their false eloquence, experienced from these men, who were equally corrupt and haughty, all that could be feared or expected from the most malignant envy and the most envenomed hatred; to which it is now time to proceed. Artax. Mnemon.

Sect. VI. *Socrates is accused of holding bad opinions in regard to the gods, and of corrupting the Athenian youth. He defends himself without art or fear. He is condemned to die.*

Socrates was accused a little before the first year of the 95th Olympiad, soon after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants out of Athens, in the sixty-ninth year of his life; but the prosecution had been projected long before. The oracle of Delphi, which had declared him the wisest of mankind; the contempt into which he had brought the doctrine and morals of the sophists of his time, who were then in high reputation; the liberty with which he attacked all vice; the singular attachment of his disciples to his person and maxims, had all concurred in alienating people against him, and had drawn abundance of envy upon him. A. M. 3602. Ant. J. C. 402.

[x] His enemies having sworn his destruction, and perceiving the difficulty of the attempt, prepared the way for it at a distance, and at first attacked him in the dark, and by obscure and secret methods. It is said, that in order to sound the people's disposition towards Socrates, and to try whether it would ever be safe to cite him before the judges, they engaged Aristophanes to bring him upon the stage in a comedy, wherein the first seeds of the accusation meditated against him were sown. It is not certain whether Aristophanes was sub-

[u] Plat. in Apolog. p. 23.
[x] Ælian. l. ii. c. 13. Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 19.

Artax. Mnemon. orned by Anytus and the rest of Socrates's enemies to compose that satirical piece against him. It is very likely that Socrates's declared contempt for all comedies in general, and for those of Aristophanes in particular, whilst he professed an extraordinary esteem for the tragedies of Euripides, might be the poet's true motive for taking his revenge of the philosopher. However it were, Aristophanes, to the disgrace of poetry, lent his pen to the malice of Socrates's enemies or his own resentment, and employed his whole genius and capacity to depreciate the best and most excellent man that ever the pagan world produced.

He composed a piece called *The Clouds*, wherein he introduces the philosopher perched in a basket, and hoisted up amidst the air and clouds, from thence he delivers maxims, or rather the most ridiculous subtleties. A very aged debtor, who desires to escape the close pursuit of his creditors, comes to him to be taught the art of tricking them at law; to prove by unanswerable reasons that he owes them nothing; and, in a word, of a very bad, to make a very good, cause. But finding himself incapable of any improvement from the sublime lessons of his new master, he brings his son to him in his stead. This young man soon after quits this learned school so well instructed, that at their first meeting he beats his father, and proves to him by subtle but invincible arguments, that he has reason for treating him in that manner. In every scene where Socrates appears, the poet makes him utter a thousand impertinencies, and as many impieties against the gods, and in particular against Jupiter. He makes him talk like a man of the greatest vanity and highest opinion of himself, with an equal contempt for all others, who out of a criminal curiosity is desirous of penetrating into what passes in the heavens, and of diving into the abysses of the earth; who boasts of having always the means of making injustice triumph; and who is not contented

with keeping those secrets for his own use, but teaches them to others, and thereby corrupts youth. All this is attended with a refined raillery and wit, that could not fail of highly pleasing a people of so quick and delicate a taste as the Athenians, who were besides naturally jealous of all transcendent merit. They were so much charmed with it, that without waiting the conclusion of the representation, they ordered the name of Aristophanes to be set down above all his competitors. Artax. Mnemon.

Socrates, who had been informed that he was to be brought upon the stage, went that day to the theatre to see the comedy, contrary to his custom; for it was not common for him to go to those assemblies, unless when some new tragedy of Euripides was to be performed, who was his intimate friend, and whose pieces he esteemed upon account of the solid principles of morality he took care to intersperse in them. It has, however, been observed, that he once had not patience to wait the conclusion of one of them, wherein the actor had advanced a dangerous maxim, but went out immediately, without considering the injury which his withdrawing might do to his friend's reputation. He never went to comedies, unless when Alcibiades and Critias forced him thither against his will; as he was offended at the unbounded licentiousness which reigned in them, and could not endure to see the reputation of his fellow-citizens publicly torn in pieces. He was present at this without the least emotion, and without expressing any discontent: and some strangers being anxious to know who the Socrates intended by the play was, he rose up from his seat, and showed himself during the whole representation. [y] He told those who were near him, and were amazed at his indifference and patience, that he imagined himself at a great entertainment, where he was agreeably laughed at, and that it was necessary to be able to bear a joke.

[y] Plut. de educ. liber. p. 10.

Artax. Mnemon. There is no probability, as I have already observed, that Aristophanes, though he was not Socrates's friend, had entered into the black conspiracy of his enemies, and had any thought of occasioning his destruction. It is more probable, that a poet who diverted the public at the expence of the principal magistrates and most celebrated generals, was also willing to make them laugh at the expence of a philosopher. All the guilt was on the side of those who envied him, and his enemies, who were in hopes of making great use of the representation of this comedy against him. The artifice was indeed deep and well planned. In bringing a man upon the stage, he is only represented by his bad, weak, or equivocal qualities. That view of him is followed with ridicule: ridicule accustoms people to the contempt of his person, and contempt proceeds to injustice. For the world are naturally emboldened in insulting, abusing, and injuring a man, when once he becomes the object of general contempt.

These were the first blows struck at him, and served as an essay and trial of the great affair meditated against him. It lay dormant a long while, and did not break out until twenty years afterwards. The troubles of the republic might well occasion that long delay. For it was in that interval that the enterprise against Sicily happened, the event of which was so unfortunate, that Athens was besieged and taken by Lysander, who changed its form of government and established the thirty tyrants, who were not expelled till a very short time before the affair we speak of.

A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401. Melitus then appeared as accuser, and entered a process in form against Socrates. His accusation consisted of two heads. The first was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and introduced new divinities: the second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring that sentence of death ought to pass against him.

Never had accusation so little foundation, or even probability and pretext, as this. Socrates for forty years had made it his profession to instruct the Athenian youth. He had advanced no opinions in secret and in the dark. His lessons were given publicly, and in the view of great numbers of auditors. He had always observed the same conduct, and taught the same principles. What then could be Melitus's motive for this accusation after such a length of time? How came his zeal for the public good, after having been languid and drowsy for so many years, to awake on a sudden, and become so violent? Is it pardonable in so zealous and worthy a citizen as Melitus would wish to appear, to have continued mute and inactive whilst a person was corrupting the whole youth of that city, by instilling seditious maxims into them, and inspiring them with a disgust and contempt for the established government? For he who does not prevent an evil when it is in his power, is equally criminal with him that commits it. [z] These are the expressions of Libanius in a declamation of his called the Apology of Socrates. But, continues he, allowing that Melitus, whether through forgetfulness, indifference, or real and serious engagements, never thought for so many years of entering an accusation against Socrates; how came it to pass, that in a city like Athens, which abounded with wise magistrates, and, what is more, with bold informers, so public a conspiracy as that imputed to Socrates should have escaped the eyes of those whom either the love of their country or invidious malignity rendered so vigilant and attentive? Nothing was ever less credible, or more void of all probability. Artax. Mnemon.

[a] As soon as the conspiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defence. Lysias, the most able orator of his time, brought him an ela-

[z] Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 645—648.
[a] Cicer. l. 1. de Orat. n. 231—283.

Artax. Mnemon. borate discourse of his composing, wherein he had set forth the reasons and measures of Socrates in their fullest light, and interspersed the whole with tender and pathetic strokes,[b] capable of moving the most obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleasure, and approved it very much; but as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetoric than the sentiments and fortitude of a philosopher, he told him frankly that it did not suit him. Upon which Lysias, having asked how it was possible to be well done, and at the same time not suit him:—In the same manner, said he, using, according to his custom, a vulgar comparison, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or shoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which, however, would not fit me. He persisted therefore inflexibly in the resolution he had formed, not to demean himself by begging suffrages in the low abject manner common at that time. He employed neither artifice nor the glitter of eloquence: he had no recourse either to solicitation or entreaty: he brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their sighs and tears. Nevertheless,* though he firmly refused to make use of any voice but his own in his defence, and to appear before his judges in the submissive posture of a suppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal: it was from a noble and intrepid assurance, resulting from greatness of soul, and the usual attendant upon consciousness of truth and innocence. So that his defence had nothing timorous or weak in it. His discourse was bold, manly, generous, without passion, without emotion,

[b] Quint. l. xi. c. 1.

* *His et talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæsivit ad judicium capitis, nec judicibus supplex fuit; adhibuitque liberam contumaciam à magnitudine animi ductam, non à superbiâ.* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 1.

full of the noble liberty of a philosopher, with no other ornament than that of truth, and displaying throughout the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was present, transcribed it afterwards, and without any additions composed from it the work which he calls *The Apology of Socrates*, one of the most consummate masterpieces of antiquity. I shall here make an extract from it. Artax. Mnemon.

[c] Upon the day assigned, the proceeding commenced in the usual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus spoke. The worse his cause, and the less provided it was with proofs, the more occasion he had for address and art to cover its weakness. He omitted nothing that might render the adverse party odious; and instead of reasons, which could not but fail him, he substituted the delusive glitter of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in observing that he could not tell what impression the discourse of his accusers might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part he scarce knew himself, such an artful colouring and likelihood had they given to their arguments, though there was not the least word of truth in all they had advanced.

[d] I have already said that their accusation consisted of two heads. The first regards religion. Socrates enquires out of an impious curiosity into what passes in the heavens and in the bowels of the earth. He does not acknowledge the gods adored by his country. He endeavours to introduce new deities; and, if he may be believed, an unknown god inspires him in all his actions. To make short, he believes there are no gods.

The second head relates to the interest and government of the state. Socrates corrupts the youth by instilling bad sentiments concerning the Divinity into them, by teaching them a contempt of the

[c] Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. Xenoph. in Apolog. Socrat. et in Memor. [d] Plat. in Apolog. p. 24.

Artax. Mnemon. laws, and the order established in the republic; by declaring openly against the choice of the magistrates by lot;* by exclaiming against the public assemblies, where he is never seen to appear; by teaching the art of making the worst of causes good; by attaching the youth to himself out of a spirit of pride and ambition, under the pretence of instructing them; and by proving to children that they may treat their parents ill with impunity. He glories in a pretended oracle, and believes himself the wisest of mankind. He taxes all others with folly, and condemns without reserve all their maxims and actions; constituting himself by his own authority the general censor and reformer of the state. Notwithstanding which, the effects of his lessons may be seen in the persons of Critias and Alcibiades, his most intimate friends, who have done great mischiefs to their country, and have been the most wicked of citizens and the most abandoned of men.

This concluded with recommending to the judges to be very much upon their guard against the dazzling eloquence of Socrates, and to suspect extremely the insinuating and artificial turns of address which he would employ to deceive them.

[e] Socrates began his discourse with this point, and declared that he would speak to the judges as it was his custom to talk in his common conversation, that is to say, with much simplicity, and no art.

[f] He then proceeds to particulars. Upon what foundation can it be alleged, that he does not acknowledge the gods of the republic; he, who has been often seen sacrificing in his own house and in the temples? Can it be doubted whether he uses

[e] Plat. p. 17. [f] Plat. p. 27. Xenoph. p. 703.

* Socrates in reality did not approve this manner of electing the magistrates. He observed, that when a pilot, a musician, or an architect is wanted, nobody is willing to take him at a venture; though the faults of these people are far from being of such great importance as those errors which are committed in the administration of the republic. *Xenoph. Memorab. l. fig. 1. p. 712.*

divination, since it is made a crime in him to report that he received counsels from a certain divinity; and is thence inferred that he aims at introducing new deities? But in this he innovates nothing more than others, who, putting their faith in divination, observe the flight of birds, consult the entrails of victims, and remark even words and accidental encounters; different means which the gods employ to give mankind a foreknowledge of the future. Old or new, it is still evident that Socrates acknowledges divinities, by the confession of even Melitus himself, who in his information avers that Socrates believes dæmons, that is to say, subaltern spirits, the offspring of the gods. Now every man who believes the offspring of the gods, believes the gods. Artax. Mnemon.

[5] As to what relates to the impious enquiries into natural things imputed to him; without despising or condemning those who apply themselves to the study of physics, he declares that, as for himself, he had entirely devoted himself to what concerns moral virtue, the conduct of life, and the rules of government, as to a knowledge infinitely more useful than any other; and he calls upon all those who have been his hearers, to come forth and convict him of falsehood if he does not say what is true.

"I am accused of corrupting the youth, and of "instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in "regard to the worship of the gods as the rules "of government. You know, Athenians, that I "never made it my profession to teach, nor can "envy, however violent against me, reproach me "with ever having sold my instructions. I have "an undeniable evidence for me in this respect, "which is my poverty. Always equally ready to "communicate my thoughts either to the rich or "poor, and to give them full leisure to question "or answer me, I lend myself to every one who is

[5] Xenoph. p. 710.

Artax. Mnemon, "desirous of becoming virtuous: and if amongst those who hear me, there are any that prove either "good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, of "which I am not the cause, nor the vices of the "other, to which I have not contributed, are to be "ascribed to me. My whole employment is to "persuade the young and old not to entertain too "much love for the body, for riches, and all other "precarious things, of whatsoever nature they be; "but to let their principal regard be for the soul, "which ought to be the chief object of their affec- "tion: for I incessantly urge to you, that virtue "does not proceed from riches, but, on the con- "trary, riches from virtue; and that all the other "goods of human life, as well public as private, "have their source in the same principle.

"If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, "I confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve "to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is "most easy to convict me of falsehood. I see here "a great number of my disciples; they have only "to appear. But perhaps reserve and considera- "tion for a master who has instructed them, will "prevent them from declaring against me: at least "their fathers, brothers, and uncles cannot, as good "relations and good citizens, excuse themselves "from standing forth to demand vengeance against "the corrupter of their sons, brothers, and ne- "phews. But these are the persons who take "upon them my defence, and interest themselves "in the success of my cause.

"[h] Pass on me what sentence you please, Athe- "nians; but I can neither repent nor change my "conduct. I must not abandon or suspend a func- "tion which God himself has imposed on me. Now "it is He who has charged me with the care of in- "structing my fellow-citizens. If, after having faith- "fully kept all the posts wherein I was placed by "our generals at Potidæa, Amphipolis, and Delium,

[h] Plat. p. 28, 29.

" the fear of death should at this time make me Artax.
" abandon that in which the Divine Providence has Mnemon.
" placed me, by commanding me to pass my life in
" the study of philosophy for the instruction of my-
" self and others; this would be a most criminal de-
" sertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of
" being cited before this tribunal, as an impious
" man who does not believe the gods. Should you
" resolve to acquit me, on condition that I keep
" silence for the future, I should not hesitate to make
" answer; Athenians, I honour and love you, but I
" shall choose rather to obey * God than you, and
" to my latest breath shall never renounce philoso-
" phy, nor cease to exhort and reprove you accord-
" ing to my custom, by telling each of you when
" you come in my way, *My † good friend, and citi-*
" *zen of the most famous city in the world for wis-*
" *dom and valour, are you not ashamed to have no*
" *other thoughts than of amassing wealth, and of*
" *acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, whilst you*
" *neglect the treasures of prudence, truth, and wis-*
" *dom, and take no pains in rendering your soul as*
" *good and perfect as it is capable of being?*

" [1] I am reproached with abject fear and mean-
" ness of spirit, for being so busy in imparting my
" advice to every one in private, and yet having al-
" ways avoided being present in your assemblies,
" to give my counsels to my country. I thought I
" had given sufficient proofs of my courage and for-
" titude, both in the field, where I have borne arms
" with you, and in the senate, when I alone opposed
" the unjust sentence you pronounced against the
" ten captains, who had not taken up and interred
" the bodies of those who were killed or drowned
" in the sea-fight near the island Arginusæ; and
" when, upon more than one occasion, I opposed

[1] Plat. p. 31.

* Πείσομαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν.

† The Greek signifies, *O best of men,* ὦ ἄριστε ἀνδρῶν· which was an obliging manner of accosting.

Artax. " the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants.
Mnemon. " What is it then that has prevented me from ap-
" pearing in your assemblies? It is that Dæmon,
" Athenians, that voice divine, which you have so
" often heard me mention, and which Melitus has
" taken so much pains to ridicule. That Spirit has
" attached itself to me from my infancy: it is a
" voice which I never hear, but when it would pre-
" vent me from persisting in something I have re-
" solved, for it never exhorts me to undertake any
" thing. It is that which has always opposed me
" when I would have intermeddled in the affairs of
" the republic: and its opposition was very season-
" able; for I should have been amongst the dead
" long ago, had I been concerned in the measures
" of the state, without effecting any thing to the
" advantage of myself or our country. Do not
" take it ill, I beseech you, if I speak my thoughts
" without disguise, and with truth and freedom.
" Every man who would generously oppose a whole
" people, either amongst us or elsewhere, and who
" inflexibly applies himself to prevent the violation
" of the laws and the practice of iniquity in a city,
" will never do so long with impunity. It is abso-
" lutely necessary for him who would contend for
" justice, if he has the slightest wish to live, to re-
" main in a private station, and never to have any
" share in public affairs.

[k] " For the rest, Athenians, if, in the extreme
" danger in which I now am, I do not imitate the
" behaviour of those who upon less emergencies
" have implored and supplicated their judges with
" tears, and have brought before them their chil-
" dren, relations, and friends; it is not through
" pride and obstinacy, or any contempt for you,
" but solely for your honour, and for that of the
" whole city. It is fit that you should know, that
" there are amongst our citizens, those who do not
" regard death as an evil, and who give that name

[k] Plat. p. 34, 35.

" only to injustice and infamy. At my age, and Artax.
" with the reputation which I have, whether true Mnemon.
" or false, would it be consistent for me, after all
" the lessons I have given upon the contempt of
" death, to be afraid of it myself, and to belie by
" my last act all the principles and sentiments of
" my past life?

" But without speaking of my fame, which I
" should extremely injure by such a conduct, I do
" not think it allowable to entreat a judge, nor to
" procure an acquittal by supplications: he ought
" to be persuaded and convinced. The judge does
" not sit upon the bench to show favour by violating
" the laws, but to do justice by conforming to them.
" He did not take an oath to favour whom he
" pleases; but to do justice where it is due. We
" ought not therefore to accustom you to perjury,
" nor you to suffer yourselves to be accustomed to
" it; for in so doing, both the one and the other of
" us equally injure justice and religion, and both
" become criminal.

" Do not therefore expect from me, Athenians,
" that I should have recourse amongst you to means
" which I believe neither honest nor lawful; espe-
" cially upon this occasion, wherein I am accused
" of impiety by Melitus. For if I should influence
" you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to
" violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evident
" that I should teach you not to believe in the gods;
" and even in defending and justifying myself,
" should furnish my adversaries with arms against
" me, and prove that I believe no divinity. But I
" am very far from such thoughts. I am more
" convinced of the existence of God than my ac-
" cusers; and so convinced, that I abandon myself
" to God and you, that you may judge of me as
" you shall deem best for yourselves and me."

Socrates * pronounced this discourse with a firm

* *Socrates ita in judicio capitis pro se ipse dixit, ut non supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse judicum.* Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231.

Artax. Mnemon. and intrepid tone. His air, his action, his visage, bore no resemblance to that of a person accused: he seemed the master of his judges, from the assurance and greatness of soul with which he spoke, without, however, losing any thing of the modesty natural to him. So noble and majestic a deportment displeased and gave offence. It is common for * judges, who look upon themselves as the absolute dispensers of life or death to such as are before them, to expect, out of a secret tendency of mind, that they should appear in their presence with humble submission and respectful awe; a homage which they think due to their supreme authority.

This was what happened now. Melitus, however, had not at first the fifth part of the voices. We have reason to suppose that the judges assembled upon this occasion might amount to five hundred, without reckoning the president. The law condemned the accuser to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas, † if he had not the fifth part of the suffrages. This law had been wisely established to check the boldness and impudence of calumniators. Melitus would have been obliged to pay this fine, if Anytus and Lycon had not joined him, and presented themselves also as the accusers of Socrates. Their influence drew over a great number of voices, and there were two hundred and eighty-one against Socrates, and consequently only two hundred and twenty for him. He wanted no more than thirty-one ‡ to have been acquitted; for he would then have had two hundred and fifty-one, which would have been the majority.

By this first sentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty, without decreeing against him any § pe-

* *Odit judex ferè litigantis securitatem; cùmque jus suum intelligat, tacitus reverentiam postulat.* Quint. l. iv. c. 1.

† About 25*l.*

‡ The text varies in Plato: it says, thirty-three, or thirty; whence it is probably defective.

§ *Primis sententiis statuebant tantùm judices damnarent an absolverent. Erat autem Athenis, reo damnato, si fraus capitalis non*

nalty. For when the law did not determine the punishment, and when a crime against the state was not in question, (in which manner I conceive Cicero's expression, *fraus capitalis*, may be understood,) the person found guilty had a right to choose the penalty he thought he deserved. Upon his answer the judges deliberated a second time, and afterwards passed their final sentence. Socrates was informed that he might demand an abatement of the penalty, and change the condemnation of death into banishment, imprisonment, or a fine. He replied generously, that he would choose neither of those punishments, because that would be to acknowledge himself guilty.—"Athenians," said he, "to keep you no longer in suspense, as you oblige "me to sentence myself according to what I de- "serve, I condemn myself, for having passed my "life in instructing yourselves and your children; "for having neglected with that view my domestic "affairs, and all public employments and dignities; "for having devoted myself entirely to the service "of my country, in labouring incessantly to ren- "der my fellow-citizens virtuous; I condemn my- "self, I say, to be maintained in the Prytaneum "at the expence of the republic for the rest of my "life." * This last answer so † much offended the Artax. Mnemon.

esset, quasi pœnæ æstimatio. Ex sententiâ, cùm judicibus daretur, interrogabatur reus, quam quasi æstimationem commeruisse se maximè confiteretur. Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 231, 232.

* It appears in Plato, that after this discourse, Socrates, without doubt to remove from himself an imputation of pride and contumacy, modestly offered to pay a fine proportionate to his indigence, that is to say, one mina (fifty livres), and that, at the solicitation of his friends, who had bound themselves for him, he rose in his offer to thirty minæ. Plat. *in Apolog. Socrat. p.* 38. But Xenophon positively asserts the contrary, p. 705. This difference may be reconciled, perhaps, by supposing that Socrates refused at first to make any offer, and that he suffered himself at length to be overcome by the earnest solicitations of his friends.

† *Cujus responso sic judices exarserunt, ut capitis hominem innocentissimum condemnarent.* Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 233.

Artax. Mnemon. judges, that they condemned him to drink hemlock, a punishment very much in use amongst them.

[l] This sentence did not shake the constancy of Socrates in the least. "I am going," said he, addressing himself to his judges with a noble tranquillity, "to suffer death by your order, to which "nature had condemned me from the first moment "of my birth; but my accusers will suffer no less "from infamy and injustice by the decrees of truth. "Did you expect from me, that to extricate myself "out of your hands, I should have employed, ac"cording to the custom, flattery and pathetic ex"pressions, and the timorous and grovelling be"haviour of a suppliant? But in trials, as well as "war, an honest man ought not to use all sorts of "means for the preservation of his life. It is "equally dishonourable both in the one and the "other, to ransom it only by prayers and tears, "and all those other abject methods which you "see every day practised by people in my present "condition."

Apollodorus, who was one of his friends and disciples, having advanced to him to express his grief for his dying innocent: "What," replied he with a smile, "would you have had me die guilty?"

[m] Plutarch, to show that only our weakest part, the body, is in the power of man, but that there is another infinitely more noble part of us entirely superior to their threats, and inaccessible to their attacks, cites these admirable words of Socrates, which are more applicable to his judges than his accusers: "Anytus and Melitus may kill me, but they "cannot hurt me." As if he had said, in the language of the Pagans: Fortune may deprive me of my goods, my health, and my life; but I have a treasure within me, of which no external violence can deprive me; I mean virtue, innocence, fortitude, and greatness of mind.

[l] Plut. p. 39.

[m] De anim. tranquil. p. 475.

This great man,* fully convinced of the principle he had so often inculcated to his disciples,—that guilt is the only evil a wise man ought to fear—chose rather to be deprived of some years which he might perhaps have to live, than to forfeit in an instant the glory of his whole past life, in dishonouring himself for ever by the shameful behaviour he was advised to observe towards his judges. Seeing that his contemporaries had but a slight knowledge of him, he referred himself to the judgment of posterity: and by the generous sacrifice of the remnant of a life already far advanced, acquired and secured to himself the esteem and admiration of all succeeding ages. Artax. Mnemon.

SECT. VII. *Socrates refuses to escape out of prison. He passes the last day of his life in discoursing with his friends upon the immortality of the soul. He drinks the poison. Punishment of his accusers. Honours paid to his memory.*

AFTER the sentence had been passed upon him, † Socrates, with the same intrepid aspect with which he had held the tyrants in awe, went forward towards the prison, which lost that name, says Seneca, when he entered it, and became the residence of virtue and probity. His friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during thirty days which passed between his condemnation and death. The cause of that long delay was, the Athenians sent every year a ship to the isle of Delos,

* *Maluit vir sapientissimus quod superesset ex vitâ sibi perire, quàm quod præterisset: et quando ab hominibus sui temporis parùm intelligebatur, posterorum se judiciis reservavit, brevi detrimento jam ultimæ senectutis ævum seculorum omnium consecutus.* Quint. l. i. c. 1.

† *Socrates eodem illo vultu, quo aliquando solus triginta tyrannos in ordinem redegerat, carcerem intravit, ignominiam ipsi loco detracturus. Neque enim poterat carcer videri, in quo Socrates erat.* Senec. in Consol. ad Helvet. c. xiii.

Socrates carcerem intrando purgavit, omnique honestiorem curiâ reddidit. Id. de vit. beat. c. xxvii.

Artax. Mnemon. to offer certain sacrifices; and it was prohibited to put any person to death in the city, from the time that the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of this vessel, as a signal of its departure, till the same vessel should return. So that sentence having been passed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was necessary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval, death had sufficient opportunity to present itself before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his constancy to the proof, not only by the severe rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual prospect and cruel expectation of an event which nature always abhors. [n] In this sad condition he did not cease to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind which his friends had always admired in him. He conversed with them with the same temper he had always expressed; and Crito observes, that the evening before his death he slept as peaceably as at any other time. He even at that time composed a hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of Æsop's fables into verse.

The day before or the same day that the ship was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning to let him know that mournful news, and at the same time to inform him that it depended only upon himself to quit the prison; that the jailor was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at this proposal, and asked him, *whether he knew any place out of Attica where people did not die?* Crito urged the thing very seriously, and pressed him to take advantage of so precious an opportunity, adding arguments upon arguments to induce his consent, and to

[n] Plat. in Criton.

engage him to resolve upon his escape. Without mentioning the inconsolable grief he should suffer for the death of such a friend, how should he support the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in his power to have saved him, but that he would not sacrifice a small part of his wealth for that purpose? Could the people ever be persuaded that so wise a man as Socrates would not quit his prison, when he might do it with all possible security? Perhaps he might fear to expose his friends, or to occasion the loss of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty. Ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preservation of Socrates? Even strangers themselves dispute that honour with them; many of whom have come expressly with considerable sums of money to purchase his escape; and declare, that they should think themselves highly honoured to receive him amongst them, and to supply him abundantly with all he should have occasion for. Ought he then to abandon himself to enemies, who have occasioned his being condemned unjustly; and can he think it allowable to betray his own cause? Is it not essential to his goodness and justice, to spare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood? But if all these motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned with regard to himself, can he be insensible to the interests of his children? In what a condition does he leave them? And can he forget the father, to remember only the philosopher? Artax. Mnemon.

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praised his zeal, and expressed his gratitude; but before he could accede to his opinion, was for examining whether it was just for him to depart out of prison without the consent of the Athenians. The question therefore here is to know, whether a man condemned to die, though unjustly, can without a crime escape from justice and the laws? I do not know, whether, amongst us, there are many persons

Artax. Mnemon. to be found who would believe that this could be made a question.

Socrates begins with removing every thing foreign to the subject, and comes immediately to the bottom of the affair. "I should certainly rejoice extremely, "my dear Crito, if you could persuade me to quit "this place, but cannot resolve to do so without "being first persuaded. We ought not to concern "ourselves for what the people may say, but for "what the sole Judge of all that is just or unjust "shall say, and that alone is truth. All the con- "siderations you have alleged, as money, reputa- "tion, family, prove nothing, unless you show me "that what you propose is just and lawful. It is "a received and constant principle with us, that "all injustice is shameful and fatal to him that "commits it, whatever men may say, or whatever "good or evil may ensue from it. We have always "reasoned from this principle even to our latest "days, and have never departed in the least from "it. Would it be possible, dear Crito, that at our "age our most serious discourses should resemble "those of infants, who say Yes and No almost in "the same breath, and have no fixed and determi- "nate notion?" At each proposition he waited Crito's answer and assent.

"Let us therefore resume our principles, and en- "deavour to make use of them at this time. It has "always been a maxim with us, that it is never al- "lowable upon any pretence whatsoever to commit "injustice, not even in regard to those who injure "us, nor to return evil for evil; and that when we "have once engaged our word, we are bound to "keep it inviolably; no interest being capable to "dispense with it. Now, if at the time I should "be ready to make my escape, the laws and re- "public should present themselves in a body before "me, what could I answer to the following ques- "tions which they might put to me? What are you

" going to do, Socrates? Is flying from justice in Artax.
" this manner aught else than ruining entirely the Mnemon.
" laws and the republic? Do you believe that a
" state can subsist, after justice is not only no longer
" in force in it, but is even corrupted, subverted,
" and trod under foot by individuals? But, it may
" be said, the republic has done me injustice, and
" has sentenced me wrongfully. Have you forgot,
" the laws would reply, that you are under an agree-
" ment with us to submit your private judgment to
" that of the republic? You were at liberty, if our
" government and regulations did not suit you, to
" retire and settle yourself elsewhere: but a resi-
" dence of seventy years in our city sufficiently
" denotes that our regulations have not displeased
" you, and that you have complied with them from
" an entire knowledge and experience of them, and
" out of choice. In fact, you owe all you are, and
" all you possess, to them; birth, nurture, educa-
" tion, and establishment: for all these proceed
" from the tuition and protection of the republic.
" Do you believe yourself free to break through
" engagements with her, which you have confirmed
" by more than one oath? Though she should in-
" tend to destroy you, can you render her evil for
" evil, and injury for injury? Have you a right to
" act in that manner towards your father and mo-
" ther; and do you not know that your country is
" more considerable, and more worthy of respect
" before God and man, than either father, or
" mother, or all the relations in the world together;
" that your country is to be honoured and revered,
" to be complied with in her excesses, and to be
" treated with tenderness and kindness even in her
" most violent proceedings? in a word, that she is
" either to be reclaimed by wise counsels and re-
" spectful remonstrances, or to be obeyed in her
" commands, and all she shall decree suffered with-
" out murmuring? As for your children, Socrates,
" your friends will render them all the services in
" their power; at least, the Divine Providence will

Artax. Mnemon. "not fail them. Resign yourself therefore to our reasons, and take the counsel of those who have given you birth, nurture, and education. Set not so high a value upon your children, your life, or any thing in the world, as upon justice; that when you appear before the tribunal of Pluto, you may not be at a loss to defend yourself in the presence of your judges. But if you demean yourself otherwise, we shall continue your enemies as long as you live, without ever affording you relaxation or repose; and when you are dead, our sisters, the laws in the regions below, will be as little favourable to you; knowing that you have been guilty of using your utmost endeavours to destroy us."

Socrates observed to Crito, that he seemed actually to hear all he had said, and that the sound of these words echoed so continually in his ears, that they entirely engrossed him, and left him no other thoughts nor words. Crito, agreeing in fact that he had nothing to reply, continued silent, and withdrew from his friend.

[o] At length the fatal ship returned to Athens, which was in a manner the signal for the death of Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was sick, repaired to the prison early in the morning. The jailor desired them to wait a little, because the eleven magistrates (who had the direction of the prisons) were at that time signifying to the prisoner that he was to die the same day. Presently after they entered, and found Socrates, whose * chains had been taken off, sitting by Xantippe his wife, who held one of his children in her arms. As soon as she perceived them, she uttered piercing cries, sobbing, and tearing her face and hair, and made the prison resound with her complaints.

[o] Plut. in Phæd. p. 59, &c.

* At Athens, as soon as sentence was pronounced upon a criminal, he was unbound, and considered as the victim of death, whom it was no longer lawful to keep in chains.

" Oh, my dear Socrates, your friends are come to Artax.
" see you this day for the last time!" He desired Mnemon.
that she might be taken away, and she was immediately carried home.

Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and conversed with them with his usual cheerfulness and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was most important and well suited to his present condition, that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave occasion to this discourse was a question introduced in a manner by chance, Whether a true philosopher ought not to desire and take pains to die? This proposition, taken too literally, implied an opinion that a philosopher might kill himself. Socrates shows that nothing is more unjust than this notion; and that man, appertaining to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it without his permission, nor quit life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philosopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happiness which he expects in another life, and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject, from which conversation Plato's admirable dialogue, entitled *Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the soul immortal, and refutes all the objections against it, which are very near the same as are made at this day. This treatise is too long for me to attempt an abstract of it.

[p] Before he answers any of these objections, he deplores a misfortune common enough amongst men, who, in consequence of hearing ignorant persons that contradict and doubt every thing, dispute, believe there is nothing certain. " Is it not

[p] Plat. p. 90, 91.

Artax. Mnemon. "a great misfortune, dear Phædon, that having "reasons which are true, certain, and very easy to "be understood, there should, however, be persons "in the world who are not at all affected with "them, from their having heard those frivolous "disputes wherein all things appear sometimes "true and sometimes false. These unjust and un- "reasonable men, instead of blaming themselves "for these doubts, or imputing them to the nar- "rowness of their own capacities, by ascribing "the defect to the reasons themselves, proceed at "length to a detestation of them, and believe "themselves more judicious and better informed "than all others, because they imagine they are "the only persons who comprehend that there "is nothing true or certain in the nature of "things."

Socrates demonstrates the injustice of this proceeding. He observes, that of two things equally uncertain, wisdom enjoins us to choose that which is most advantageous with least hazard. "If what "I advance," says he, "upon the immortality of "the soul proves true, it is good to believe it; and "if after my death it proves false, I shall still have "drawn from it in this life this advantage, of hav- "ing been less sensible here of the evils which ge- "nerally attend human life." This reasoning * of Socrates (which is real and true in the mouth of a Christian alone) is very remarkable. If what I say is true, I gain every thing, whilst I hazard very little; and if false, I lose nothing; on the contrary, I am still a great gainer.

Socrates does not confine himself to the mere speculation of this great truth, that the soul is immortal; he draws from it useful and necessary conclusions for the conduct of life, in explaining what the hope of a happy eternity demands from man,

* Monsieur Pascal has expatiated upon this reasoning in his seventh article, and deduced from it a demonstration of infinite force.

that it be not frustrated, and that instead of attaining the rewards prepared for the good, they do not experience the punishment allotted for the wicked. The philosopher here sets forth these great truths, which a constant tradition, though very much obscured by fiction and fable, had always preserved amongst the Pagans: the last judgment of the righteous and wicked; the eternal punishments to which great criminals are condemned; a place of peace and joy without end for the souls that have retained their purity and innocence, or which during this life have expiated their offences by repentance and satisfaction; and an intermediate state, in which they purify themselves, for a certain time, from less considerable crimes that have not been atoned for during this life. Artax. Mnemon.

"[q] My friends, there is still one thing, which it "is very just to believe; and this is, that if the "soul be immortal, it requires to be cultivated with "attention, not only for what we call the time of "life, but for that which is to follow, I mean eter- "nity; and the least neglect in this point may be "attended with endless consequences. If death "were the final dissolution of being, the wicked "would be great gainers by it, as being delivered "at once from their bodies, their souls, and their "vices; but as the soul is immortal, it has no other "means of being freed from its evils, nor any safety "for itself, but in becoming very good and very "prudent; for it carries nothing away with it but "its good or bad deeds, its virtues or vices, which "are commonly the consequence of the education "it has received, and the causes of eternal happi- "ness or misery.

"[r] When the dead are arrived at the fatal ren- "dezvous of departed souls, whither their *dæmon

[q] Plat. p. 107. [r] Plat. 113, 114.

* Dæmon is a Greek word, which signifies spirit, genius, and with us, angel.

Artax. Mnemon. "conducts them, they are all judged. Those who "have passed their lives in a manner neither en- "tirely criminal nor absolutely innocent, are sent "into a place where they suffer pains proportioned "to their faults, till being purged and cleansed of "their guilt, and afterwards restored to liberty, "they receive the reward of the good actions they "have done in the body. Those who are judged "to be incurable on account of the greatness of "their crimes, who deliberately and wilfully have "committed sacrileges and murders, and other "such great offences, the fatal destiny that passes "judgment upon them hurls them into Tartarus, "from whence they never depart. But those who "are found guilty of crimes, great indeed, but "worthy of pardon; who have committed violences "in the transports of rage against their father or "mother, or have killed some one in a like emo- "tion and afterwards repented, these suffer the "same punishment and in the same place with the "last, but for a time only, till by their prayers "and supplications they have obtained pardon "from those they have injured.

"But for those who have passed through life "with peculiar sanctity of manners, delivered from "their base earthly abodes as from a prison, they "are received on high in a pure region which they "inhabit; and as philosophy has sufficiently puri- "fied them, they live *without their bodies through "all eternity in a series of joys and delights which "it is not easy to describe, and which the shortness "of my time will not permit me to explain more "at large.

"What I have said will suffice, I conceive, to "prove that we ought to endeavour strenuously "throughout our whole lives to acquire virtue and "wisdom: for you see how great a reward and "how high a hope is proposed to us. And though "the immortality of the soul were dubious, instead

*The resurrection of the body was unknown to the Pagans.

" of appearing a certainty as it does, every wise Artax.
" man ought to assure himself that it is well worth Mnemon.
" his trouble to risk his belief of it in this manner.
" And, indeed, can there be a more glorious ha-
" zard? We ought to enchant ourselves with this
" blessed hope, for which reason I have lengthened
" this discourse so much."

Cicero expresses these noble sentiments of Socrates with his usual delicacy: * Almost at the very moment, says he, that he held the deadly draught in his hand, he talked in such a manner as showed that he looked upon death not as a violence done to him, but as a means bestowed upon him of ascending to heaven. He declared that, upon departing out of this life, two ways are open to us: the one leads to the place of eternal misery such souls as have sullied themselves here below in shameful pleasures and criminal actions; the other conducts those to the happy mansions of the gods who have retained their purity upon earth, and have led in human bodies a life almost divine.

[a] When Socrates had done speaking, Crito desired him to give him and the rest of his friends his last instructions in regard to his children, and his other affairs, that by executing them they might have the consolation of doing him some pleasure. " I shall recommend nothing to you this day," replied Socrates, "more than I have always done, " which is to take care of yourselves. You cannot

[a] Pag. 115—118.

* *Cùm penè in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem trudi, verum in cœlum videretur ascendere. Ita enim censebat, itaque disseruit: duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animorum è corpore excedentium. Nam, qui se humanis vitiis contaminâssent, et se totos libidinibus dedidissent, quibus coarctati velut domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinâssent, iis devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum à consilio deorum: qui autem se integros castosque servavissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper sevocassent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos, à quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere.* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 1. n. 71, 72.

Artax. Mnemon. "do yourselves a greater service, nor do me and "my family a greater pleasure." Crito having asked him afterwards in what manner he wished to be buried: "As you please," said Socrates, "if "you can lay hold of me, and I do not escape out "of your hands." At the same time looking upon his friends with a smile: "I can never persuade "Crito," says he, "that Socrates is he who converses "with you, and disposes the several parts of his "discourse; for he always imagines that I am "what he is going to see dead in a little while. "He confounds me with my carcase, and therefore "asks me how I would be interred." In finishing these words he rose up, and went to bathe himself in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He spoke to them for some time, gave his orders to the women who took care of them, and then dismissed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid himself down upon his bed.

The servant of the Eleven entered at the same instant, and having informed him that the time for drinking the hemlock was come (which was at sunset), the servant was so much affected with sorrow, that he turned his back and fell a weeping. "See," said Socrates, "the good disposition of this "man! Since my imprisonment he has often come "to see me and to converse with me. He is more "worthy than all his fellows. How heartily the "poor man weeps for me!" This is a remarkable example, and might teach those who hold an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all prisoners, but more especially to persons of merit, if at any time they should happen to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates asked what it was necessary for him to do. "Nothing more," replied the servant, "than as soon as you have "drunk off the draught to walk about till you find "your legs grow weary, and afterwards lie down

"upon your bed." He took the cup without any emotion or change in his colour or countenance, and regarding the man with a firm and steady look, "Well," said he, "what say you of this drink; "may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told that there was only enough for one dose: "At "least," continued he, "we may say our prayers "to the gods, as it is our duty, and implore them "to make our exit from this world and our last "stage happy, which is what I most ardently beg "of them." After having spoken these words, he kept silence for some time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity, and a serenity of aspect not to be expressed. Artax. Mnemon.

Till then his friends, with great violence to themselves, had refrained from tears; but after he had drunk the potion they were no longer their own masters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almost the whole conversation, began then to utter great cries, and to lament with such excessive grief as pierced the hearts of all that were present. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his usual mildness and good-nature. "What are you doing?" said he to them; "I am "amazed at you. Ah! what is become of your "virtue? Was it not for this I sent away the women "that they might not fall into these weaknesses? "For I have always heard say that we ought to "die peaceably, and blessing the gods. Be at "ease, I beg you, and show more constancy and "resolution." These words filled them with confusion, and obliged them to restrain their tears.

In the mean time he kept walking to and fro, and when he found his legs grow weary, he lay down upon his back as he had been directed.

The poison then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered without doubt to prevent any thing from disturbing him

Artax. Mnemon. in his last moments, "Crito," said he, and these were his last words, "we owe a cock to Æsculapius; discharge that vow for me, and pray don't forget it:" soon after which he breathed his last. Crito drew near and closed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates, in the first year of the 95th Olympiad, and the seventieth of his age. Cicero* says he could never read the description of his death in Plato without tears.

Plato and the rest of Socrates's disciples, apprehending the rage of his accusers was not satiated by that victim, retired to Megara to the house of Euclid, where they staid till the storm blew over. Euripides, however, to reproach the Athenians with the horrible crime they had committed in condemning the best of men to die upon such slight grounds, composed his tragedy called *Palamedes*, in which, under the name of that hero, who was also destroyed by a foul calumny, he deplored the misfortune of his friend. When the actor came to repeat this verse,

You doom the justest of the Greeks to perish;

the whole theatre, remembering Socrates by so marked a characteristic, melted into tears, and a decree passed to prohibit speaking any more of him in public. Some believe Euripides was dead before Socrates, and reject this anecdote.

Be this as it may, the people of Athens did not open their eyes till some time after the death of Socrates. Their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices were dispelled, and time having given them opportunity for reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but discourses in favour of Socrates. The Academy, the Lyceum, private houses, public walks, and market-places, seemed

* *Quid dicam de Socrate, cujus morti illacrymari solco Platonem legens?* De nat. deor. lib. iii. n. 82.

still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice. Here, said they, he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services? Athens was in universal mourning and consternation. The schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended. The accusers were called to account for the innocent blood they had caused to be shed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the rest banished. [s] Plutarch observes, that all those who had any share in this black calumny, were in such abomination amongst the citizens, that no one would give them fire, answer them any question, nor go into the same bath with them; and had the place cleansed where they had bathed, as being polluted by their touching it; which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves. Artax. Mnemon.

[t] The Athenians, not contented with having punished his accusers, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him, of the workmanship of the celebrated Lysippus, and placed it in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city. Their respect and gratitude rose even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demigod, which they called Σωκρατειον, that is to say, *the chapel of Socrates*.

Sect. VIII. *Reflections upon the sentence passed on Socrates by the Athenians, and upon Socrates himself.*

We must be very much surprised, when on the one side we consider the extreme delicacy of the people

[s] De invid. et odio, p. 538. [t] Diog. p. 116.

Artax. Mnemon. of Athens, with respect to what regards the worship of the gods, which ran so high as to occasion their condemning the most eminent persons upon the simple suspicion of their failing in respect for them; and on the other, when we see the exceeding toleration, to call it no worse, with which the same people hear comedies every day, in which all the gods are turned into ridicule in a manner capable of inspiring the highest contempt for them. All Aristophanes's pieces abound with pleasantries, or rather buffooneries, of this kind; and if it is true, that this poet did not know what it was to spare the greatest men of the republic, it may be said also as justly, he spared the gods still less.

Such were the daily entertainments in the theatre, which the people of Athens heard not only without pain, but with such joy, pleasure, and applause, that they rewarded the poet with public honours who diverted them so agreeably. What was there in Socrates that came near this excessive licence? Never did any person of the Pagan world speak of the Divinity, or of the adoration due to him, in so pure, so noble, and so respectful a manner. He did not declare against the gods publicly received and honoured by a religion more ancient than the city; he only avoided imputing to them the crimes and infamous actions, which the popular credulity ascribed to them, and which were only calculated to depreciate and decry them in the minds of the people. He did not blame the sacrifices, festivals, nor the other ceremonies of religion; he only taught, that all that pomp and outward show could not be agreeable to the gods without uprightness of intention and purity of heart.

This wise, this illumined, this religious man, however, with all his veneration and noble sentiments in regard to the Divinity, is condemned as an impious person by the suffrages of almost a whole people, without his accusers being able to instance

one single avowed fact, or to produce any evidence that has the least appearance of probability. Artax. Mnemon.

From whence could so evident, so universal, and so determinate a contradiction arise amongst the Athenians? A people, abounding in other respects with wit, taste, and knowledge, must without doubt have had their reasons, at least in appearance, for a conduct so different, and sentiments so opposite, to their general character. May we not say, that the Athenians considered their gods in a double light? They confined their real religion to the public, solemn, and hereditary worship, as they had received it from their ancestors, as it was established by the laws of the state, had been practised from immemorial time, and especially confirmed by the oracles, auguries, offerings, and sacrifices. It is by this standard they regulated their piety; against which they could not suffer the least attempt whatsoever: it was of this worship alone that they were jealous; it was for these ancient ceremonies that they were such ardent zealots; and they believed, though without foundation, that Socrates was an enemy to them. But there was another kind of religion, founded upon fable, poetical fictions, popular opinions, and foreign customs; for this they were little concerned, and abandoned it entirely to the poets, to the representations of the theatre, and common conversation.

"What grossness did they not attribute to Juno and Venus? No citizen would have wished that his wife or daughters should resemble those goddesses. Timotheus, the famous musician, having represented Diana upon the stage of Athens, transported with folly, fury, and rage, one of the spectators conceived he could not utter a greater imprecation against him, than to wish his daughter might resemble that divinity. It is better, says Plutarch, to believe there are no gods, than to ima-

[a] Plut. de superstit. p. 170.

Artax. Mnemon. gine them of this kind; open and declared impiety being less profane, if we may be allowed to say so, than so gross and absurd a superstition.

However it be, the sentence, of which we have related the circumstances, will, through all ages, cover Athens with infamy and reproach, which all the splendour of its glorious actions, for which it is otherwise so justly renowned, can never obliterate: and it shows at the same time what is to be expected from a people, gentle, humane, and beneficent at bottom, for such the Athenians really were, but volatile, proud, haughty, inconstant, wavering with every wind and every impression. It is therefore with reason that public assemblies have been compared to a tempestuous sea; as that element, like the people, though calm and peaceable of itself, is subject to be frequently agitated by a violence not its own.

As to Socrates, it must be allowed that the Pagan world never produced any thing so great and perfect. When we observe to what a height he carries the sublimity of his sentiments, not only in respect to the moral virtues, temperance, sobriety, patience in adversity, the love of poverty, and the forgiveness of wrongs; but, what is far more considerable, in regard to the Divinity, his unity, omnipotence, creation of the world, and providence in the government of it; the immortality of the soul, its ultimate end and eternal destiny; the rewards of the good and the punishment of the wicked: when we consider this train of sublime knowledge, we ask ourselves whether it is a Pagan who thinks and speaks in this manner; and are scarce persuaded that from so dark and obscure a stock as paganism should shine forth such brilliant and glorious rays of light.

It is true, his reputation has not been unimpeached, and it has been affirmed that the purity of his manners did not correspond with those of his sentiments. [x] This question has been discussed by the

[x] Memoires de l'Académie des Inscript. tom. iv. p. 372.

learned, but my plan will not admit me to treat it in its full extent. The reader may see abbé Fraguier's dissertation in defence of Socrates, against the reproaches made him upon account of his conduct. The negative argument he makes use of in his justification seems a very strong one. He observes, that neither Aristophanes in his comedy of *The Clouds*, which is entirely directed against Socrates, nor his vile accusers in his trial, have advanced one word that tends to impeach the purity of his manners; and it is not probable that such violent enemies as those would have neglected one of the most likely methods to discredit him in the opinion of his judges, if there had been any foundation or probability for the use of it. Artax. Mnemon.

I confess, however, that certain principles of Plato, his disciple, held by him in common with his master, with respect to the nudity of the combatants in the public games, from which at the same time he did not exclude the fair sex; and the behaviour of Socrates himself, who wrestled naked man to man with Alcibiades, give us no great idea of that philosopher's delicacy in point of modesty and bashfulness. [y] What shall we say of his visit to Theodota, a woman of Athens of indifferent reputation, only to assure himself with his own eyes of her extraordinary beauty, which was much talked of, and of the precepts he gave her, in order to attract admirers and to retain them in her snares? Are such lessons very suitable to a philosopher? I pass over many other things in silence.

I am the less surprised after this, that several of the Fathers have censured him in regard to the purity of his manners, and that they have thought fit to apply to him, as well as to his disciple Plato, what St. Paul [z] says of the philosophers, That God by a just judgment abandoned them to a reprobate

[y] Xenoph. Memorab. l. iii. p. 783—786.
[z] Rom. ch. i. ver. 17—32.

Artax. Mnemon. mind, and to the most shameful lusts, as a punishment; for that having clearly known there was but one true God, they had not honoured him as they ought, by publicly avowing their belief, and were not ashamed to associate with him an innumerable multitude of divinities, ridiculous and infamous even in their own opinions.

And in this, properly speaking, consists the crime of Socrates, which did not make him guilty in the eyes of the Athenians, but gave occasion for his being justly condemned by eternal Truth. She had illuminated his soul with the most pure and sublime lights of which the Pagan world was capable; for we are not ignorant, that all knowledge of God, even natural, cannot come but from himself alone. He held admirable principles on the subject of the Divinity. He agreeably rallied the fables of the poets, upon which the ridiculous mysteries of his age were founded. He often spoke, and in the most exalted terms, of the existence of one only God, eternal, invisible, creator of the universe, supreme director and arbiter of all events, avenger of crimes, and rewarder of virtues; but he *had not the courage to bear public testimony to these great truths. He perfectly discerned the falsehood and absurdity of the Pagan system; and nevertheless, as Seneca says of the wise man, and as he acted himself, he observed exactly all the customs and ceremonies, not as agreeable to the gods, but as enjoined by the laws. He †acknowledged at bottom one only

* *Quæ omnia (ait Seneca) sapiens servabit tanquam legibus jussa, non tanquam diis grata—Ommem istam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longa ævo longa superstitio congessit, sic, inquit, adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad morem, quàm ad rem, pertinere—Sed iste, quem philosophia quasi liberum fecerat, tamen, quia illustris senator erat, colebat quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat adorabat—eo damnabilius, quo illa, quæ mendaciter agebat, sic ageret, ut eum populus veraciter agere existimaret.* S. August. de civit. Dei, l. vi. c. 10.

† *Eorum sapientes, quos philosophos vocant, scholas habebant dissentientes, et templa communia.* Id. lib. de ver. rel. c. i.

Divinity, and worshipped with the people that multitude of infamous idols which ancient superstition had heaped up during a long succession of ages. He held peculiar opinions in the schools, but followed the multitude in the temples. As a philosopher, he despised and detested the idols in secret; as a citizen of Athens and a senator, he paid them in public the same adoration with others: by so much the more worthy of blame, says St. Augustin, as that worship, which was only external and dissembled, seemed to the people to be the effect of sincerity and conviction. Artax. Mnemon.

And it cannot be said that Socrates altered his conduct at the end of his life, or that he then expressed a greater zeal for truth. In his defence before the people, he declared that he had always received and honoured the same gods as the Athenians: and the last order he gave before he expired, was to sacrifice in his name a cock to Æsculapius. Behold then this prince of the philosophers, declared by the Delphic oracle the wisest of mankind, who, notwithstanding his internal conviction of one only Divinity, dies in the bosom of idolatry, and professing to adore all the gods of the Pagan theology. Socrates is the more inexcusable in this, since, declaring himself a man expressly appointed by Heaven to bear witness to the truth, he fails in the most essential duty of the glorious commission he ascribes to himself. For if there be any truth in religion that we ought more particularly to avow, it is that which regards the unity of the Godhead, and the vanity of idol-worship. In this his courage would have been well placed; nor would it have been any great difficulty to Socrates, determined besides as he was to die. But, * says St. Augustin, it was not these philosophers who were designed by God to enlighten the world, nor to bring men over from

* *Non sic isti nati erant, ut populorum suorum opinionem ad verum cultum veri Dei à simulacrorum superstitione atque ab hujus mundi vanitate converterent.* S. August. lib. de ver. rel. c. ii.

Artax. Mnemon.

the impious worship of false deities to the holy religion of the true God.

We cannot deny Socrates to have been the hero of the Pagan world in regard to moral virtues. But to judge rightly of him, let us draw a parallel between this supposed hero and the martyrs of Christianity, who often were young children and tender virgins, and yet were not afraid to shed the last drop of their blood, to defend and confirm the same truths, which Socrates knew, without daring to assert them in public: I mean the unity of God, and the vanity of idols. Let us also compare the so much boasted death of this prince of philosophers, with that of our holy bishops, who have done the Christian religion so much honour, by the sublimity of their genius, the extent of their knowledge, and the beauty and excellence of their writings; a saint Cyprian, a saint Augustin, and so many others, who were all seen to die in the bosom of humility, fully convinced of their unworthiness and nothingness, penetrated with a lively fear of the judgments of God, and expecting their salvation from his sole goodness and condescending mercy. Philosophy inspires no such sentiments; they could proceed only from the grace of the Mediator, which Socrates was not thought worthy to know.

BOOK THE TENTH.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

Manners and Customs of the Greeks.

THE most essential part of history, and that which it concerns the reader most to know, is that which explains the character and manners as well of the people in general, as of the great persons in particular, of whom it treats; and this may be said to be in some sort the soul of history, while the facts are only the body. I have endeavoured, as occasion offered, to paint in their true colours the most illustrious personages of Greece; it remains for me to show the genius and character of the people themselves. I shall confine myself to those of Lacedæmon and Athens, who always held the first rank amongst the Greeks, and shall reduce what I have to say upon this subject to three heads; their political government, war, and religion.

Sigonius, Meursius, Potter, and several others, who have written upon Grecian antiquities, supply me with great lights, and are of much use to me in the subject which it remains for me to treat.

CHAP. I.

Of political government.

THERE are three principal forms of government: Monarchy, in which a single person reigns; Aristocracy, in which the elders and wisest govern; and Democracy, under which the supreme authority is lodged in the hands of the people. The most celebrated writers of antiquity, as Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Plutarch, give the preference to the first kind, as including the most advantages with the fewest inconveniences. But all agree, and it cannot be too often inculcated, that the end of all government, and the duty of every one invested with it, be the form what it may, is to use his utmost endeavours to render those under his command happy and just, by obtaining for them on the one side safety and tranquillity, with the advantages and conveniences of life; and on the other, all the means and helps that may contribute to making them virtuous. As the pilot's aim, says Cicero, * is to steer his vessel happily into port, the physician's to preserve or restore health, the general's of an army to obtain victory; so a prince, and every man who governs others, ought to make the utility of the governed his ultimate aim; and to remember, that the supreme law of every just government is the good of the public, [a] *Salùs populi suprema lex esto.* He adds, that the greatest and most noble function in the world is to be the author of the happiness of a nation.

[a] Cic. de leg. l. iii. n. 8.

* *Tenes-ne igitur, moderatorem illum reip. quò referre velimus omnia?—Ut gubernatori cursus secundus, medico salus, imperatori victoria, sic huic moderatori reip. beata civium vita proposita est; ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloriâ ampla, virtute honesta sit. Hujus enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorem volo.* Ad Attic. l. viii. Epist. 10.

Plato in a hundred places esteems as nothing the most shining qualities and actions of those who govern, if they do not tend to promote the two great ends I have mentioned, the virtue and happiness of the people; and he refutes at large, in the first [b] book of his Republic, one Thrasymachus, who advanced, that subjects were born for the prince, and not the prince for his subjects; and that whatever promoted the interests of the prince or commonwealth, ought to be deemed just and lawful.

In the distinctions which have been made upon the several forms of government, it has been agreed, that that would be the most perfect which should unite in itself, by a happy mixture of institutions, all the advantages, and exclude all the inconveniences, of the rest; and almost all the ancients have believed, [c] that the Lacedæmonian government came nearest to this idea of perfection.

ARTICLE I.

Of the government of Sparta.

From the time that the Heraclidæ had re-entered Peloponnesus, Sparta was governed by two kings, who were always of the same two families, descended from Hercules by two different branches; as I have observed elsewhere. Whether from pride and the abuse of despotic power on the side of the kings, or the desire of independence and an immoderate love of liberty on that of the people, Sparta, in its beginnings, was always involved in commotions and revolts; which would infallibly have occasioned its ruin, as had happened at Argos and Messene, two neighbouring cities equally powerful with itself, if the wise foresight of Lycurgus had not prevented the

[b] Page 338—343. [c] Polyb. l. vi. p. 458, 459.

fatal consequences by the reformation which he made in the state. I have related it at large [d] in the life of that legislator, and shall only touch here upon what regards the government.

SECT. I. *Abridged idea of the Spartan government. Entire submission to the laws was in a manner the soul of it.*

LYCURGUS restored order and peace in Sparta by the establishment of the senate. It consisted of twenty-eight senators, and the two kings presided in it. This august assembly, formed out of the wisest and most experienced men in the nation, served as a counterpoise to the two other authorities, that of the kings, and that of the people; and whenever the one attempted to overbear the other, the senate interposed, by joining the weakest, and thereby held the balance even between both. At length, to prevent this body itself from abusing its power, which was very great, a kind of curb was annexed to it, by the nomination of five Ephori, who were elected out of the people, whose office lasted only one year, but who had authority, not only over the senators, but the kings themselves.

The power of the kings was extremely limited, especially in the city, and in time of peace. In war they had the command of the fleets and armies, and at that time greater authority. [e] However, they had even then a kind of inspectors and commissioners assigned them, who served as a necessary council, and were generally chosen for that office from among those citizens who were out of favour with them, in order that there should be no connivance on their side, and the republic be the better served. There was almost continually some secret misunderstanding between the two kings; whether it proceeded from a

[d] Vol. II. [e] Arist. de rep. l. ii. p. 331.

natural jealousy between the two branches, or was the effect of the Spartan policy, to which their too great union might have given umbrage.

The Ephori had a greater authority at Sparta, than the tribunes of the people at Rome. They presided in the election of the magistrates, and called them to an account for their administration. Their power extended even to the persons of their kings, and of the princes of the blood royal, whom they had a right to imprison, which right they actually used in the case of Pausanias. When they sat upon their seats in the tribunal, they did not rise up when the kings entered, which was a mark of respect paid them by all the other magistrates, and this seems to imply a kind of superiority in the Ephori in consequence of their representing the people; and it is observed of Agesilaus, [1] that when he was seated upon his throne to dispense justice, and the Ephori came in, he never failed to rise up to do them honour. It is very probable, that before him it was not usual for the kings to behave in that manner, since Plutarch relates this behaviour of Agesilaus as peculiar to him.

All public business was proposed and examined in the senate, and there it was that resolutions were passed. But the decrees of the senate were not of force unless ratified by the people.

There must have been exceeding wisdom in the laws established by Lycurgus for the government of Sparta, because, as long as they were exactly observed, no commotions or seditions of the people were ever known in the city, no change in the form of government was ever proposed, no private person usurped authority by violence, or made himself tyrant; the people never thought of depriving the two families, in which it had always been, of the sovereignty, nor did any of the kings ever attempt to assume more power than the laws permitted.

[1] Plut. in Agesil. p. 597.

[g] This reflection, which both Xenophon and Polybius make, shows the idea they had of the wisdom of Lycurgus in political matters, and the opinion we ought to have of it. In fact, no other city of Greece had this advantage, and all of them experienced many changes and vicissitudes, for want of similar laws to perpetuate their form of government.

The reason of this constancy and stability of the Lacedæmonians in their government and conduct is, that in Sparta the laws governed absolutely, and with sovereign authority; whereas the greatest part of the other Grecian cities, abandoned to the caprice of private individuals, to despotic power, to an arbitrary and irregular sway, experienced the truth of Plato's saying: [h] That the city is miserable, where the magistrates command the laws, and not the laws the magistrates.

The example of Argos and Messene, which I have already pointed out, would alone suffice to show how just and true that reflection is. [i] After their return from the Trojan war, the Greeks, distinguished by the name of Dorians, established themselves in three cities of Peloponnesus, Lacedæmon, Argos, and Messene; and swore mutually to assist each other. These three cities, governed alike by monarchical power, had the same advantages; except that the two latter were far superior to the other in the fertility of the territory where they were situated. Argos and Messene, however, did not long preserve their superiority. The haughtiness of the kings, and the disobedience of the people, occasioned their fall from the flourishing condition in which they had been at first; and their example proved, says Plutarch, after Plato, that it was the peculiar favour of the gods which gave the Spartans such a man as Lycurgus,

[g] Xenoph. in Agesil. p. 651. Polyb. l. vi. p. 459.
[h] Plat. l. iv. de leg. p. 715.
[i] Plat. l. iii. de leg. p. 683—685. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 43.

capable of prescribing so wise and reasonable a plan of government.

To support it without change, particular care was taken to educate the youth according to the laws and manners of the country; in order that, by being early ingrafted into them, and confirmed by long habitude, they might become, as it were, a second nature. The hard and sober manner in which they were brought up, inspired them during the rest of their lives with a natural taste for frugality and temperance that distinguished them from all other nations, and wonderfully adapted them to support the fatigues of war. [k] Plato observes, that this salutary custom had banished from Sparta, and all the territory dependent upon it, drunkenness, debauchery, and all the disorders that ensue from them; insomuch that it was a crime punishable by law to drink wine to excess even in the Bacchanalia, which every where else were days of licence, and on which whole cities gave themselves up to the last excesses.

They also accustomed the children from their earliest infancy to an entire submission to the laws, magistrates, and all in authority; and * their education, properly speaking, was no more than an apprenticeship of obedience. It was for this reason that Agesilaus advised Xenophon to send his children to Sparta, as to an excellent school, † where they might learn the greatest and most noble of all sciences, *to obey and to command*, for the one naturally leads on to the other. It was not only the mean, the poor, and the ordinary citizens, who were subjected in this manner to the laws; but the rich, the powerful, the magistrates, and even the kings; and they distinguished themselves from the others only by a more exact obedience; convinced that

[k] Plat. l. i. de leg. p. 637.

*Ὥστε τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην εὐπειθείας. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 58.

† Μαθησομένες τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν. Plut. in Agesil. p. 606.

such behaviour was the surest means to their being obeyed and respected themselves by their inferiors.

[l] Hence came the so much celebrated answers of Demaratus. Xerxes could not comprehend, how the Lacedæmonians, who had no master to controul them, should be capable of confronting dangers and death. "They are free and independent of all "men," replied Demaratus, "but the law is above "them and commands them; and that law ordains "that they must conquer or die." [m] Upon another occasion, when somebody expressed their surprise, that being king he should suffer himself to be banished: "It is," says he, "because at Sparta the "laws are stronger than the kings."

[n] This appears evidently in the ready obedience of Agesilaus to the orders of the Ephori, when recalled by them to the support of his country; a delicate occasion for a king and a conqueror: but to him it seemed more * glorious to obey his country and the laws, than to command numerous armies, or even to conquer Asia.

SECT. II. *Love of poverty instituted at Sparta.*

To this entire submission to the laws of the state, Lycurgus added another principle of government no less admirable, which was to remove from Sparta all luxury, profusion, and magnificence; to bring riches absolutely into discredit, to make poverty honourable, and at the same time necessary, by substituting a species of iron money in the place of gold and silver coin, which till then had been current. I have explained elsewhere the measures that he used to make so dif-

[l] Herod. l. vii. c. 145, 146.
[m] Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.
[n] Idem, in Agesil. p. 603, 604.

* *Multo gloriosius duxit, si institutis patriæ paruisset, quàm si bello superâsset Asiam.* Corn. Nep. in Agesil. c. iv.

ficult an undertaking succeed, and shall confine myself here to examining what judgment should be passed on it, as it affects a government.

Was the poverty to which Lycurgus reduced Sparta, and which seemed to prohibit to that state all conquest, and to deprive it of all means of augmenting its force and grandeur, well adapted to render it powerful and flourishing? Does such a constitution of government, which till then had no example, nor has since been imitated by any state, evince a great fund of prudence and policy in a legislator? And was not the modification conceived afterwards under Lysander, of continuing private persons in their poverty, and restoring to the public the use of gold and silver coin, a wise amendment of what was too strained and excessive in that law of Lycurgus of which we are speaking?

It seems, if we consult only the common views of human prudence, that it is just to reason in this manner; but the event, which is an infallible evidence and arbiter in this place, obliges me to be of a quite different opinion. Whilst Sparta remained poor, and persisted in the contempt of gold and silver, which continued for several ages, she was still powerful and glorious; and the commencement of her decline may be dated from the time when she began to break through the severe prohibition of Lycurgus against the use of gold and silver money.

The education which he instituted for the young Lacedæmonians, the hard and sober life which he recommended with so much care, the laborious and violent exercises of the body prescribed by him, the abstraction from all other application and employment, in a word, all his laws and institutions show, that his view was to form a nation of soldiers, solely devoted to arms and military functions. I do not pretend absolutely to justify this scheme, which had its great inconveniences; and I have expressed my thoughts of it elsewhere. But, admitting this to be

his view, we must confess that legislator showed great wisdom in the means he took to carry it into execution.

The almost inevitable danger of a people solely trained up for war, who have always their arms in their hands, and that which is most to be feared, is injustice, violence, ambition, the desire of increasing their power, of taking advantage of their neighbours' weakness, of oppressing them by force, of invading their lands under false pretexts, which the lust of dominion never fails to suggest, and of extending their bounds as far as possible; all vices and extremes which are horrid in private persons, and the ordinary intercourse of life, but which men have thought fit to applaud as grandeur and glory in the persons of princes and conquerors.

The great care of Lycurgus was to defend his people against this dangerous temptation. Without mentioning the other means he made use of, he employed two which could not fail of producing their effect. The * first was to prohibit all navigation and war at sea to his citizens. The situation of his city, and the fear lest commerce, the usual source of luxury and disorder, should corrupt the purity of the Spartan manners, might have a share in this prohibition. But his principal motive was to put it out of his citizens' power to project conquests, which a people shut up within the narrow bounds of a peninsula, could not carry very far without being masters at sea.

The second means, still more efficacious, was to forbid all use of gold or silver money, and to introduce a species of iron coin in its stead, which was of great weight and small value, and could only be current at home. How with such money could foreign troops be raised and paid, fleets fitted out, and numerous armies kept up either by land or sea?

* Ἀπείργετο δὲ αὐτοὺς ναύταις εἶναι, καὶ ναυμαχεῖν. Plut. in instit. Lacon. p. 239.

So that the design of Lycurgus, in rendering his citizens warlike, and putting arms into their hands, was not, as * Polybius observes, and Plutarch after him, to make them illustrious conquerors, who might carry war into remote regions, and subject great numbers of people. His sole end was, that, shut up within the extent of the lands and domain left them by their ancestors, they should have no thoughts but of maintaining themselves in peace, and defending themselves successfully against such of their neighbours as should have the rashness to invade them; and for this they had occasion for neither gold nor silver, as they found in their own country, and still more in their sober and temperate manner of life, all that was sufficient for the support of their armies, when they did not quit their own lands, or the neighbouring territories.

Now, says Polybius, this plan once admitted, it must be allowed that nothing could be more wise nor more happily conceived than the institutions of Lycurgus, for the maintaining a people in the possession of their liberty, and securing to them the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity. In fact, let us imagine a little republic, like that of Sparta, of which all the citizens are inured to labour, accustomed to live on little, warlike, courageous, intrepid; and that the fundamental principle of this small republic is to do no wrong to any one, nor to disturb its neighbours, nor invade their lands or property; but, on the contrary, to declare in favour of the oppressed against the injustice and violence of oppressors; is it not certain, that such a republic, surrounded by a great number of states of equal extent, would be generally respected by all the neighbouring nations, would become the supreme arbiter of all their quarrels, and exercise an empire over them, by so much the more glorious and lasting, as it would be voluntary, and founded solely

* Polyb. l. vi. p. 491. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 59.

upon the opinion which those neighbours would have of its virtue, justice, and valour?

[p] This was the end that Lycurgus proposed to himself. Convinced that the happiness of a city, like that of a private person, depends upon virtue, and upon being well within itself, he regulated Sparta so as that it might always suffice to its own happiness, and act upon principles of wisdom and equity. From thence arose that universal esteem of the neighbouring people, and even of strangers, who asked from the Lacedæmonians neither money, ships, nor troops, but only that they would lend them a Spartan to command their armies; and when they had obtained their request, they paid him entire obedience with every kind of honour and respect. In this manner the Sicilians obeyed Gylippus, the Chalcidians Brasidas, and all the Greeks of Asia, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaus; *regarding the city of Sparta as a model for all others, in the arts of living and governing well.

The epocha of the declension of Sparta begins with the open violation of Lycurgus's laws. I do not pretend that they had always been exactly observed till that time, which was far from the case; but the spirit and genius of those laws had almost always prevailed with the majority of the persons who governed. As soon as the ambition of reigning over all Greece had inspired them with the design of having naval armies and foreign troops, and that money was necessary for the support of those forces, Sparta, forgetting her ancient maxims, saw herself reduced to have recourse to the barbarians, whom till then she had detested, and basely to make her court to the kings of Persia, whom she had formerly vanquished with so much glory; and that, only to draw from them some aids of money

[p] Plut. p. 58.

* Πρὸς σύμπασαν τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πόλιν, ὥσπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ διδάσκαλον ἐυσχήμονος βίου καὶ τεταγμένης πολιτείας ἀποβλέποντες.

and troops against her own brethren, that is to say, against people born and settled in Greece like themselves. Thus had they the imprudence and misfortune to recall with gold and silver into Sparta, all the vices and crimes which the iron money had banished; and to prepare the way for the changes which ensued, and were the cause of their ruin. And this infinitely exalts the wisdom of Lycurgus, in having foreseen, at such a distance, what might strike at the happiness of his citizens, and provided salutary remedies against it in the form of government which he established at Sparta. We must not, however, attribute the whole honour of this plan to him alone. Another legislator, who had preceded him several ages, has a right to share this glory with him.

SECT. III. *Laws established by Minos in Crete, the model of those of Sparta.*

ALL the world knows, that Lycurgus had formed the plan of most of his laws upon the model of those observed in the island of Crete, where he passed a considerable time for the better studying of them. It is proper I should give some idea of them here, having forgotten to do it in the place where it would have been more natural, that is, when I spoke for the first time of Lycurgus and his institutions.

Minos, whom fabulous history calls the son of Jupiter, was the author of these laws. He lived about a hundred years before the Trojan war. He was a powerful, wise, and gentle prince; and still more estimable for his moral virtues than his military abilities. After having conquered the island of Crete, and several others in its neighbourhood, he applied himself to strengthen by wise laws the new state, of which he had possessed himself by the force of arms. A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 1284.

[q] The end which he proposed in the establishment of these laws, was to render his subjects happy by making them virtuous. He banished idleness and voluptuousness from his states, and with them luxury and effeminate pleasures, the fruitful sources of all vice. Well knowing that liberty is justly regarded as the most precious and greatest good, and that it cannot subsist without a perfect union of the people, he endeavoured to establish a kind of equality amongst them; which is the tie and basis of it, and well calculated to remove all envy, jealousy, hatred, and dissension. He did not undertake to make any new divisions of lands, nor to prohibit the use of gold and silver. He applied himself to the uniting of his subjects by other ties, which seemed to him neither less firm nor less reasonable.

He decreed, that the children should be all brought up and educated together, by troops and bands; in order that they might learn early the same principles and maxims. Their life was hard and sober. They were accustomed to be satisfied with little, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep and rugged places, to skirmish with each other in small parties, to suffer courageously the blows they received, and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance in which they carried arms in their hands, and which was afterwards called the Pyrrhic; in order, says Strabo, that, even to their very diversions, every thing might breathe, and form them for war. They were also made to learn certain airs of music, but of a manly, martial kind.

[r] They were not taught either to ride, or to wear heavy armour; but in return, they were made to excel in drawing the bow, which was their most usual exercise. The reason of this was natural. Crete is not a flat even country, nor fit for breeding horses, as is that of the Thessalians, who were considered the best cavalry in Greece; but a rough, broken

[q] Strab. l. x. p. 480. [r] Plat. de leg. l. i. p. 623.

country, full of hills and high lands, where heavy-armed troops could not exercise themselves in the horse-race. But as archers and light-armed soldiers, fit to execute the devices and stratagems of war, the Cretans pretended to hold the foremost rank.

Minos thought proper to establish in Crete a community of tables and meals. Besides several other great advantages which he found in this institution, as the introducing a kind of equality in his dominions, the rich and poor having the same diet, the accustoming his subjects to a frugal and sober life, the cementing friendship and unity between them by the usual gaiety and familiarity of the table, he had also in view the custom of war, in which the soldiers are obliged to eat together. [s] It was the public that supplied the expences of these tables. Out of the revenues of the state, a part was applied to the uses of religion and the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the public meals. So that the women, children, and men of all ages, were fed at the cost, and in the name, of the republic. In this respect Aristotle gives the preference to the meals of Crete before those of Sparta, wherein private persons were obliged to furnish their proportion, and without it were not admitted into the assemblies; which was to exclude the poor.

[t] After eating, the old men discoursed upon the affairs of the state. The conversation turned generally upon the history of the country, upon the actions and virtues of its great men, who had distinguished themselves either by their valour in war, or their wisdom in the art of government; and the youth, who were present at these entertainments, were exhorted to propose those great persons to themselves as their models, for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

[u] Minos, as well as Lycurgus, is reproached with

[s] Arist. de rep. l. ii. c. 10. [t] Athen. l. iv. p. 143.
[u] Plat. de leg. l. ii. p. 626.

having no other view in his laws than war; which is a very great fault in a legislator. It is true, this appears to have been his principal object, because he was convinced that the repose, liberty, and riches of his subjects were under the protection, and in a manner under the guard of arms and military knowledge; the conquered being deprived of all those advantages by the victor. But he was desirous that war should be made only for the sake of peace; and his laws are far from being confined to that sole object.

Amongst the Cretans, the cultivation of the mind was not entirely neglected, and care was taken to give the youth some tincture of learning. The works of Homer,[x] of much later date than the laws of Minos, were not unknown amongst them, though they set small value upon, and made little use of, foreign poets.[y] They were very curious in such knowledge as is proper to form the manners; and what is no small praise,* they piqued themselves upon thinking much and speaking little. [z] The poet Epimenides, who made a voyage to Athens in the time of Solon, and was in great estimation there, was of Crete, and is by some placed in the number of the seven sages.

One of Minos's institutions, which Plato[a] admires the most, was to inspire early into the youth a high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of the state, and not to suffer them to dispute or call in question the wisdom of their institutions; since they were to consider them not as prescribed and imposed by men, but as emanations of the divinity himself. Accordingly he had industriously apprised the people, that Jupiter himself had dictated them to him. He paid the same attention in regard to the magi-

[x] Plat. de leg. l. ii. p. 680.
[y] Plut. in Solon. p. 84.
[z] Idem, l. i. p. 641.
[a] De leg. l. i. p. 634.

* Πολύνοιαν μᾶλλον ἢ πολυλογίαν ἀσκεῖν.

strates, and aged persons, towards whom he recommended honour should be particularly shown; and in order that nothing might violate the respect due to them, he ordained, that if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth: a wise precaution, and one which would be of great utility in the ordinary practice of life!

The government of Crete was at first monarchical, of which Minos has left a perfect model to all ages. According to him, as a great and most excellent * man observes, the king has supreme power over the people, but the laws supreme power over him. He has an absolute power to do good, and his hands are tied up from doing evil. The laws intrust the people in his hands as the most sacred of deposits, upon condition that he shall be the father of his subjects. The same laws require, that a single man by his wisdom and moderation shall constitute the felicity of an infinite number of subjects; not that the subjects, by their misery and abject slavery, shall be subservient to the gratification of the pride and low passions of a single man. According to him, the king ought to be abroad the defender of his country at the head of armies, and at home the judge of his people, to render them good, wise, and happy. It is not for himself that the gods have made him king; he is only so for the service of his people. He owes to them his whole time, care, and affection; and is worthy of the throne, only as far as he forgets himself, and devotes himself to the public good. [b] Such is the idea Minos had of the sovereignty, of which he was a living image in his own person, and which Hesiod has perfectly expressed in two words, by calling that prince, 'the most royal of mortal kings,' βασιλεύτατον θνητῶν βασιλήων: that is to say, that he

[b] Plat. in Min. p. 320.

* Monsieur de Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray

possessed in a supreme degree all royal virtues, and was a king in all things.

[c] It appears, that the authority of king was of no long duration, and that it gave place to a republican government, as Minos had intended. The senate, composed of thirty senators, formed the public council. In that assembly the public affairs were examined, and resolutions taken; but they were of no force till the people had given them their approbation, and confirmed them by their suffrages. The magistrates, to the number of ten, established for maintaining good order in the state, and therefore called * *Cosmi*, held the two other bodies of the state in check, and preserved the balance between them. In time of war the same persons commanded the army. They were chosen by lot, but only out of certain families. Their office was for life, and they were not accountable to any for their administration. Out of this company the senators were elected.

The Cretans made the slaves and mercenaries cultivate their lands, who were obliged to pay them a certain annual sum. They were called *Periæci*, probably from their being drawn from neighbouring nations whom Minos had subjected. As they inhabited an island, and consequently a country separate from all others, the Cretans had not so much to fear from these vassals as the Lacedæmonians from the Helots, who often joined the neighbouring people against them. [d] A custom anciently established in Crete, from whence it was adopted by the Romans, gives us reason to believe that the vassals who tilled the lands were treated with great mildness and humanity. In the feasts of Mercury, the masters waited on their slaves at table; and did them the same offices as they received from them the rest of the year;—precious remains and traces of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, that

[c] Arist. de Rep. l. ii. c. 10. [d] Athen. l. xiv. p. 639.

* Κόσμος, ordo.

seemed to inform the masters that their servants were of the same condition with themselves, and that to treat them with cruelty and pride was to renounce humanity.

[e] As a prince cannot do every thing alone, and is obliged to associate co-operators with himself, for whose conduct he is accountable, Minos charged his brother Rhadamanthus with a share in the administration of justice in the capital city, which is the most essential and indispensable function of sovereignty. He knew his probity, disinterestedness, ability, and constancy, and had taken pains to form him for so important an office. Another minister had the care of the rest of the cities, through which he made a circuit three times a year, to examine whether the laws established by the prince were duly observed, and the inferior magistrates and officers religiously acquitted themselves of their duty.

Crete, under so wise a government, changed its aspect entirely, and seemed to have become the abode of virtue, probity, and justice, as we may judge from what fabulous history tells us of the honour Jupiter did these two brothers, in making them the judges of the infernal regions; for every body knows that fable is founded upon real history, though disguised under agreeable emblems and allegories, adapted to recommend truth by the ornaments of fancy.

[f] It was, according to fabulous tradition, a law, established from the beginning of time, that men on departing this life should be judged, in order to their receiving the reward or punishment due to their good or evil actions. In the reign of Saturn, and in the first years of that of Jupiter, this judgment was pronounced at the instant preceding death, which left room for very flagrant injustice. Princes, who had been cruel and tyrannical, appearing before their judges in all the pomp and splendour of their power, and producing witnesses to depose in their favour,

[e] Plat. in Min. p. 320.

[f] Plat. in Gorg. p. 523—526. In Axioch. p. 371.

because, as they were still alive, they dreaded their anger; the judges, dazzled with this vain show, and deceived by such false evidence, declared these princes innocent, and dismissed them with permission to enter into the happy abodes of the just. The same may be said in regard to the rich; but for the poor and helpless, calumny and malice pursued them even to this last tribunal, and found means to have them doomed for ever as criminals.

Fabulous history adds, that, upon reiterated complaints and warm remonstrances made to Jupiter upon this account, he changed the form of these trials. The time for them was fixed for the very moment after death. Rhadamanthus and Æacus, both sons of Jove, were appointed judges; the first for the Asiatics, the other for the Europeans; and Minos over them to decide supremely in cases of doubt and obscurity. Their tribunal is situated in a place called *The Field of Truth*, because neither falsehood nor calumny can approach it. The greatest prince must appear there, as soon as he has resigned his last breath, deprived of all his grandeur, reduced to his naked self, without defence or protection, silent and trembling for his own doom, after having made the whole world tremble for theirs. If he be found guilty of crimes which are of a nature to be expiated, he is confined in Tartarus for a certain time only, and with assurance of being released as soon as he shall be sufficiently purified. But if his crimes are unpardonable, such as injustice, perjury, and the oppression of his people, he is cast into the same Tartarus, there to suffer eternal miseries. The just, on the contrary, of whatsoever condition they are, are conducted into the blest abodes of peace and joy, to partake of a felicity which shall have no end.

Who does not see that the poets, under the cover of these fictions, ingenious indeed, but little to the honour of the gods, intended to give us the model of an accomplished prince, whose first care is to render justice to his people; and to depict the extra-

ordinary happiness Crete enjoyed under the wise government of Minos? This happiness did not expire with him. [g] The laws he established subsisted in all their vigour even in Plato's time, that is to say, more than nine hundred years after; [h] and they were considered as the effect of his long* conversations for many years with Jupiter, who had condescended to become his teacher, to enter into a † familiarity with him as with a friend, and to form him in the great art of reigning with a secret complacency, as a favourite disciple and a tenderly beloved son. It is in this manner Plato explains these words of Homer, [i] Διὸς μεγάλε ὀαριστὴς: the most exalted praise, according to him, that can be given to a mortal, and which that poet ascribes only to Minos.

Notwithstanding so shining and solid a merit, the theatres of Athens resounded with imprecations against the memory of Minos; and Socrates, in the dialogue of Plato which I have already often cited, observes upon, and gives the reason for them: but first he makes a reflection well worthy of being weighed: "When either the praise or dispraise of "great men is in question, it is of the utmost im- "portance," says he, "to make use of circumspec- "tion and wisdom; because upon that depends the "idea men form to themselves of virtue and vice, "and the distinction they ought to make between "the good and the bad. For," adds he, "God con- "ceives a just indignation when a prince is blamed "who resembles himself, and on the contrary an- "other praised who is directly the reverse. We "must not believe that nothing is sacred but brass "and marble; (he speaks of the statues that were

[g] Plat. in Min. p. 321. [h] Ibid. p. 319. [i] Odyss. T. ver. 179.

* *Et Jovis arcanis Minos admissus.* Horat.

† This poetical fiction is perhaps taken from the holy Scriptures, which say of Moses: And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. *Exod.* xxxiii. 11.

" worshipped:) the just man is the most sacred, " and the wicked the most detestable, of all beings " in this world."

After this reflection, Socrates observes, that the source and cause of the Athenians' hatred of Minos was the unjust and cruel tribute he imposed upon them, in obliging them to send him, every nine years, seven young men and as many maids, to be devoured by the Minotaur: and he cannot avoid reproaching that prince with having drawn upon himself the abhorrence of a city like Athens abounding with learned men, and of having sharpened the tongues of the poets against him, a dangerous and formidable race of men, from the poisoned shafts which they never fail to let fly against their enemies.

It appears from what I have repeated, that Plato imputes to this Minos of whom we are treating, the imposition of that cruel tribute. Apollodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch, seem to be of the same opinion. * The Abbé Banier alleges and proves that they are mistaken, and confound the first Minos, of whom we speak, with a second, his grandson, who reigned after him in Crete, and who, to avenge the death of his son Androgeus, killed in Attica, declared war against the Athenians, and imposed that tribute, to which Theseus put an end by killing the Minotaur. It would indeed be difficult to reconcile so inhuman and barbarous a conduct with what all antiquity relates of the goodness, lenity, and equity of Minos, and with the magnificent praises it bestows upon the polity and institutions of Crete.

It is true, that in after-times the Cretans degenerated very much from their ancient reputation, which at length they absolutely lost by an entire change of their manners, becoming avaricious, and so self-interested as to think that no gain was base, enemies of labour and regularity of life, professed liars and knaves; so that to *Cretise* became a pro-

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. tom. iii.

verb amongst the Greeks, implying to lie and to deceive. Every body knows that * St. Paul cites against them as truth the testimony of one of their ancient poets (it is believed to be Epimenides), who paints them in colours much to their dishonour. But this change of manners, at whatever time it took place, does not at all affect the probity of the ancient Cretans, nor the glory of Minos their king.

[k] The most certain proof of that legislator's wisdom, as Plato observes, is the solid and lasting happiness which the sole imitation of his laws effected at Sparta. Lycurgus had regulated the government of that city upon the plan and idea of that of Crete; and it subsisted in an uniform manner for many ages, without experiencing the vicissitudes and revolutions so common in all the other states of Greece.

ARTICLE II.

Of the government of Athens.

THE government of Athens was neither so permanent nor so uniform as that of Sparta, but suffered various alterations, according to the diversity of times and conjunctures. Athens, after having long been governed by kings, and afterwards by archons, assumed entire liberty, which gave place, however, for some years to the tyrannic power of the Pisistratidæ, but was soon after re-established, and subsisted with splendour till the defeat in Sicily, and the taking of the city by the Lacedæmonians. The latter subjected them to the Thirty Tyrants, whose authority was not of long duration, and gave place again to liberty, which continued amidst

[k] Plat. p. 320.

* Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί, The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies. Titus i. 12.

various events during a long series of years, till the Roman power had subdued Greece and reduced it into a province.

I shall consider in this place only the popular government, and shall examine in particular five or six heads of it: The foundation of their government according to Solon's establishment; the different parts of which the republic consisted; the council or senate of five hundred; the assemblies of the people; the different tribunals for the administration of justice; the revenues or finances of the republic. I shall be obliged to dwell more at large upon what regards the government of Athens, than I have upon that of Sparta, because the latter is almost sufficiently known, from what has been said of it in the life of Lycurgus.[1]

SECT. I. *Foundation of the government of Athens according to Solon's plan.*

[m] SOLON was not the first who established the popular government at Athens. Theseus long before him had traced out the plan, and begun the execution of it. After having united the twelve towns into one city, he divided the inhabitants into three bodies: that of the nobility, to whom the superintendence of religious affairs and all offices were confided; the labourers, or husbandmen; and the artisans. He had proposed the establishment of a kind of equality between the three orders. For if the nobles were considerable by their honours and dignities, the husbandmen had the advantage from their utility to the public, and the necessity there was for their labours; and the artisans had the superiority to both the other bodies from their number. Athens, properly speaking, did not become a popular state till the establishment of the nine Archons, whose

[1] Vol. ii. [m] Plut. in Thes. p. 10, 11.

authority continued only for one year, whereas before it lasted for ten; and it was not till many years after that Solon, by the wisdom of his laws, confirmed and regulated this form of government.

[n] Solon's great principle was to establish as much as possible a kind of equality amongst his citizens, which he regarded with reason as the foundation and essential point of liberty. He resolved therefore to leave the public employments in the hands of the rich, as they had been till then; but to give the poor also some share in the government, from which they were excluded. For this reason he made an estimation of what each individual was worth. Those who were found to have an annual revenue of five hundred measures, as well in grain as liquids, were placed in the first class, and called the *Pentacosiomedimni*, that is, those who had a revenue of five hundred measures. The second class was composed of such as had three hundred, and could maintain a horse for war; these were called *horsemen* or *knights*. Those who had only two hundred, were in the third class, and were called * *Zugitæ*. Out of these three classes alone the magistrates and commanders were chosen. All the other citizens who were below these three classes, and had less revenues, were comprised under the name of *Thetæ*, i. e. hirelings, or rather workmen labouring with their hands. Solon did not permit them to hold any office, and granted them only the right of giving their suffrages in the assemblies and trials of the people, which at first seemed a very slight privilege, but at length was found to be a very great advantage, as will appear in the sequel. I do not know whether Solon foresaw it, but he used to say, [o] that the people were never more obedient and submissive, than when

[n] Plut. in Solon. p. 87. [o] Ibid. p. 110.

* It is believed they were so called from their being ranked between the Knights and the Thetæ; as in the galleys those who rowed in the middle were termed Zugitæ; their place was between the Thalamitæ and Thranitæ.

they possessed neither too much nor too little liberty: which comes very near Galba's expression, [p] when, in order to induce Piso to treat the Roman people with mildness and lenity, he desires him to remember, * that he was going to command men who were incapable of bearing either entire liberty or absolute subjection.

[q] The people of Athens, being become more haughty after their victories over the Persians, pretended to have a right to share in all the public offices and the magistracy: and Aristides, to prevent the disorders which a too tenacious opposition might have occasioned, thought proper to give way to them in this point. [r] It appears, however, from a passage in Xenophon, that the people contented themselves with those offices from whence some profit arose, and left those which related more particularly to the government of the state in the hands of the rich.

[s] The citizens of the first three classes paid every year a certain sum of money, to be laid up in the public treasury; the first a † talent, the Knights half a talent, and the Zugitæ ten ‡ minæ.

As the proportion of revenue determined the order of the classes, as their revenues augmented, the people were allowed to rise to a superior class.

If [t] Plutarch may be believed, Solon formed two councils, which were the two anchors as it were of the commonwealth, to secure it from being shaken by the commotions of the assemblies of the people. The first was the Areopagus: but it was much more ancient than his institutions, and he only reformed it, and gave it new lustre by augmenting its power. The second was the council of the Four Hundred,

[p] Tacit. Hist. l. x. c. 16.
[q] Plut. in Aristid. p. 332.
[r] Xenoph. de rep. Athen. p. 691.
[s] Pollux, l. viii. c. 10.
[t] In Solon. p. 88.

* *Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.*

† One thousand French crowns. ‡ Five hundred livres.

that is, a hundred of each tribe; for Cecrops, the first king of the Athenians, had divided the people into four tribes. Clisthenes long after him changed that order, and established ten. It was in this council of the Four Hundred that all affairs were considered before they were proposed to the assembly of the people, as we shall soon explain.

I do not mention here another division of the people into three parties or factions, which till the time of Pisistratus were a continual source of troubles and seditions. One of these three parties was formed out of those who inhabited the high lands; and these favoured popular government: the other, out of those who lived in the plains; and they were for oligarchy: and the third out of the people upon the coast; and these held the mean between both.

It is necessary, for the better understanding what we have now said, to enter into a more particular account of the Athenian people.

SECT. II. *Of the inhabitants of Athens.*

[u] THERE were three sorts of inhabitants of Athens: citizens, strangers, and servants. In the account taken by Demetrius Phalereus in the cxvith Olympiad, their number amounted to twenty-one thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers, and forty* thousand servants. The number of citizens was almost the same in the time of Cecrops, and less under Pericles. A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314.

1. *Of the Citizens.*

A citizen could only be such by birth or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was necessary to be born of a father and mother both free, and

[u] Athen. l. vi. p. 272.

* The text says, μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα, four hundred thousand; which is a manifest error.

Athenians. [x] We have seen that Pericles restored in all its force this law, which had not been exactly observed, and which he himself some short time after infringed. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon strangers; and those whom they had so adopted, enjoyed almost the same rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizen of Athens was sometimes granted as an honour and mark of gratitude to those who had rendered great services to the state; as to Hippocrates: and even kings have sometimes canvassed that title for themselves or their children. Evagoras, king of Cyprus, thought it much to his honour.

When the young men had attained the age of twenty they were inrolled upon the list of citizens, after having taken an oath; and it was only in virtue of that public and solemn act that they became members of the state. The form of this oath is exceedingly remarkable, which Stobæus and [y] Pollux have preserved in the following words: "I will never "dishonour the profession of arms, nor save my life "by a shameful flight. I will fight to my last "breath for the religion and civil interests of the "state, in concert with the other citizens, and alone "if occasion be. I will not bring my country into "a worse condition than I found it, but will use "my utmost endeavours to make it more flourish-"ing. I will always submit myself to the laws "and magistrates, and to whatsoever shall be or-"dained by the common consent of the people. "If any one shall violate, or attempt to annul, the "laws, I will not disguise or conceal such an en-"terprise, but will oppose it either alone or in con-"junction with my fellow-citizens; and I will con-"stantly adhere to the religion of my forefathers. "To all which I call to witness Agraulos, Enyalius, "Mars, and Jupiter." I leave the reader to his own

y Pollux, l. viii. c. 9.

reflections upon this august ceremony, well adapted to inspire the love of their country in the hearts of the young citizens.

The whole people at first had been divided into four tribes, and afterwards into ten. Each tribe was subdivided into several parts, which were called δῆμοι, *pagi*. It was by these two titles that the citizens were described in the public acts. *Melitus, è tribu Cecropide, è pago Pitthensi.*

2. *Of the Strangers.*

I call those by that name who, being of a foreign country, came to settle at Athens, or in Attica, whether for the sake of commerce or the exercising any trade. They were termed μέτοικοι, *inquilini*. They had no share in the government, nor votes in the assembly of the people, and could not be admitted into any office. They put themselves under the protection of some citizen, as we find from a passage of * Terence, and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and services, as the clients did at Rome to their patrons. They were bound to observe all the laws of the republic, and to conform entirely to all its customs. They paid a yearly tribute to the state of twelve † drachmas; and in default of payment were made slaves, and exposed to sale. [z] Xenocrates, the celebrated but poor philosopher, was very near experiencing this misfortune, and was being carried to prison; but Lycurgus, the orator, having paid the tax, released him from the hands of the farmers of the public revenues; a kind of men, who in all times have been very little sensible to merit, with the exception of an exceeding few of their number. That philosopher, meeting some time after the sons of his deliverer, told

[z] Plut. in Flamin. p. 375.

* *Thais patri se commendavit in clientelam et fidem: Nobis dedit sese.* Eunuch. Act. 5. scen. ult.

† Six livres.

them; *I pay your father the favour he has done me with usury, for all the world praises him upon my account.*

3. *Of the Servants.*

These were of two kinds. The one who were free, and not able to get their bread by their work, were obliged by the bad state of their affairs to go into service, and their condition was reputable and not laborious. The service of the other was forced and constrained: these were slaves, who had either been taken prisoners in war, or bought of such as trafficked publicly in them. They formed part of the property of their masters, who disposed absolutely of them, but generally treated them with great humanity. [a] Demosthenes observes, in one of his harangues, that the condition of servants was infinitely more gentle at Athens than any where else. There was in that city an asylum and place of refuge for slaves, where the bones of Theseus had been interred, and that asylum still subsisted in Plutarch's time. How glorious was it for Theseus, that his tomb should do that, twelve hundred years after his death, which he had done himself during his life, and continue the protector of the oppressed as he had been!

[b] When the slaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they had their action against their masters, who were obliged to sell them to others, if the fact were sufficiently proved. [c] They could ransom themselves even against their masters' consent, when they had laid up money enough for that purpose. For out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their masters, they kept the remainder for themselves, and made a stock which was at their own disposal. Private persons, when they were satisfied with their services, often gave these slaves their liberty;

[a] Philip. 3. [b] Plut. de superstit. p. 166. [c] Plaut. in Casin.

and the same favour was always granted them by the public, when the necessity of the times obliged the state to put arms in their hands and enlist them amongst the citizens.

The humane and equitable manner in which the Athenians treated their servants and slaves, was an effect of the good temper natural to that people, and very remote from the austere and cruel severity of the Lacedæmonians towards their Helots, which often brought their republic to the very brink of destruction. [d] Plutarch, with great reason, condemns this rigour. He thinks it proper to habituate one's self always to mercy, even with regard to beasts, were it only, says he, to learn by that means to treat men well, and to serve, as it were, an apprenticeship to humanity and benevolence. He relates upon this occasion a very singular fact, and one well calculated to give an idea of the character of the Athenians. After having finished the temple called *Hecatonpedon*, they set all the beasts of burden at liberty, that had been employed in the work, and assigned them fat pasturages as consecrated animals. And it was said, that one of these beasts having come to offer itself at the work, and put itself at the head of those that drew the carts to the citadel, walking foremost, as if to exhort and encourage them, the Athenians ordained by a decree, that the creature should be maintained at the public expence till its death.

SECT. VI. *Of the council or senate of Five Hundred.*

IN consequence of Solon's institutions, the people of Athens had a great share and authority in the government. Appeals might be brought to their tribunal in all causes; they had a right to cancel the

[d] Plut. in Catone, p. 338, 339.

old laws, and establish new ones: in a word, all important affairs, whether relating to war or peace, were decided in their assemblies. In order that their determinations should be made with more wisdom and maturity, Solon had instituted a council, composed of four hundred senators, a hundred out of each tribe, which were then four in number; and they prepared and digested the affairs which were to be laid before the people, as we shall soon explain more at large. Clisthenes, about a hundred years after Solon, having increased the number of tribes to ten, augmented also that of the senators to five hundred, each tribe supplying fifty. This was called the council, or senate, of the Five Hundred. They received their stipend out of the public treasury.

They were chosen by lot, in which they made use of black and white beans, which were mingled and shaken in an urn; and each tribe gave in the names of those who aspired to that trust, and had the revenue assigned by the laws to qualify them for it. None could be admitted under the age of thirty. After enquiry made into the manners and conduct of the candidate, he was made to take an oath, whereby he engaged to give at all times the best counsel he could to the people of Athens, and never to depart in the least from the tenor of the laws.

This senate assembled every day, except upon the days appointed for festivals. Each tribe in its turn furnished those who were to preside in it, called **Prytanes*, and this rank was decided by lot. This presidency continued thirty-five days, which being reckoned ten times, amounts to the number of days, except four, of the lunar year followed at Athens. This time of the presidency, or prytanism, was divided into five weeks, regard being had to the five tens of the *Prytanes*, who were to preside in them; and every week seven of these ten Prytanes drawn by lot presided, each their day, and were denominated

* Πρυτάνεις.

Πρόεδροι, that is to say, *presidents*. He * who was so for the day, presided in the assembly of the senators and in that of the people. He was charged with the public seal, as also with the keys of the citadel and treasury.

The senators, before they assembled, offered a sacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva, under the additional appellation of *givers of good counsel*,† to implore from them the prudence and understanding necessary to form wise deliberations. The president proposed the business which was to be considered in the assembly. Every one gave his opinion in his turn, and always standing. After a question had been settled, it was drawn up in writing, and read with a loud voice. Each senator then gave his vote by scrutiny, by putting a bean into the urn. If the number of the white beans carried it, the question passed; otherwise it was rejected. This sort of decree was called Ψήφισμα, or Προβούλευμα, as much as to say, a preparatory resolution. It was afterwards laid before the assembly of the people, where, if it was received and approved, it had the force of a law, if not, its authority subsisted only one year. This shows with what wisdom Solon established this council, to inform and direct the people, to fix their inconstancy, to check their temerity, and to impart to their deliberations a prudence and maturity not to be expected in a confused and tumultuous assembly composed of a great number of citizens, most of them without education, capacity, or much zeal for the public good. The reciprocal dependency and mutual concurrence of the two bodies of the state, which were obliged to lend each other their authority, and remained equally without force when without union and a good understanding, were besides a method judiciously contrived for supporting a wise balance between the two bodies; the people

* He was called Ἐπιστάτης. † Βέλαιος, βελαία.

not being able to enact any thing without its being first proposed and approved by the senate, nor the senate to pass any decree into a law till it had been ratified by the people.

We may judge of the importance of this council by the matters which were treated in it; the same, without any exception, as were laid before the people;—wars, taxes, maritime affairs, treaties of peace, alliances; in a word, whatever related to government; without mentioning the account which they obliged the magistrates to give on quitting their offices, and the frequent decisions and judgments upon the most serious and important affairs.

Sect. IV. *Of the Areopagus.*

This council took its name from the place where it held its meetings called * *the quarter*, or *hill of Mars*, because, according to some, Mars had been cited thither to trial for a murder committed by him. It was believed to be as ancient as the nation. Cicero and Plutarch attribute the institution of it to Solon; but he only re-established it, by giving it more lustre and authority than it had had till then, and for that reason was looked upon as its founder. The number of the senators of the Areopagus was not fixed; at certain times they amounted to two or three hundred. Solon thought proper that only those who had borne the office of archon should be honoured with that dignity.

This senate had the care of seeing the laws duly observed, of inspecting the manners of the people, and especially of judging in criminal cases. They held their sittings in an open place, and during the night. The former very probably to avoid being under the same roof with the criminals, and not to defile themselves by such an intercourse with them; the latter, that they might not be softened by the

* Ἄρειος πάγος.

sight of the guilty, and might judge solely according to justice and the laws. It was for the same reason, that, in presence of these judges, the orators were not permitted to use any exordium or peroration, nor allowed to excite the passions, but were obliged to confine themselves solely to the subject matter of their cause. The severity of their judgments was exceedingly dreaded, particularly in regard to murder, and they were highly attentive to inspire their citizens with horror for that crime. They* condemned a child to be put to death for making it his pastime to put out the eyes of quails; conceiving this sanguinary inclination as the mark of a very wicked disposition, which might one day prove fatal to many, if it were suffered to grow up with impunity.

The affairs of religion, as blasphemies against the gods, contempt of the sacred mysteries, different species of impiety, and the introduction of new ceremonies and new divinities, were also brought before this tribunal. [e] We read in Justin Martyr, that Plato, who, in his travels in Egypt had acquired great lights concerning the unity of GOD, when he returned to Athens, took great care to dissemble and conceal his sentiments, for fear of being obliged to appear, and give an account of them before the Areopagitæ; and we know that St. Paul was traduced before them, as teaching a new doctrine,[f] and endeavouring to introduce new gods.

These judges were in great reputation for their probity, equity, and prudence, and generally respected. Cicero, in writing to his friend Atticus, upon the fortitude, constancy, and wise severity of the Roman senate, thinks he makes a great encomium upon it in comparing it with the Areopagus.

[e] Cohort. ad Græc. [f] Acts xvii. 18—20.

Neo mihi videntur Areopagitæ, cùm damnaverunt puerum oculos coturnicum eruentem, aliud judicâsse, quàm id signum esse perniciosissimæ mentis, multisque malo futuræ si adolevisset. Quintil. l. v. c. 9.

[g] *Senatus.* Ἀρειος πάγος, *nil constantius, nil severius, nil fortius.* Cicero must have conceived a very advantageous idea of it, to speak of it as he does in the first book of his Offices. * He compares the famous battle of Salamis, in which Themistocles had so great a part, with the establishment of the Areopagus, which he ascribes to Solon; and makes no scruple to prefer, or at least to equal, the legislator's service to that for which Athens was obliged to the general of its army. "For in reality," says he, "that victory was useful to the republic only "for once, but the Areopagus will be so through-"out all ages, as by the wisdom of that tribunal, "the laws and ancient customs of the Athenian "state are preserved. Themistocles did no ser-"vice to the Areopagus, but the Areopagus abun-"dantly contributed to the victory of Themistocles; "because the republic was at that time directed by "the wise counsels of that august senate."

It appears from this passage of Cicero, that the Areopagus had a great share in the government, and I do not doubt but it was consulted upon important affairs. Cicero here perhaps may have confounded the council of the Areopagus with that of the Five Hundred. It is certain, however, that the Areopagitæ were extremely active in the public affairs.

Pericles, who could never enter the Areopagus, because, chance having always been against him, he had not passed through any of the employments necessary to his admission, attempted to weaken its authority, and attained his point; which is a great blot in his reputation.

[g] Ad Attic. l. i. ep. 13.

* *Quamvis Themistocles jure laudetur, et sit ejus nomen, quàm Solonis, illustrius, citeturque Salamis clarissimæ testis victoriæ, quæ anteponatur consilio Solonis ei, quo primùm constituit Areopagitas: non minùs præclarum hoc, quàm illud, judicandum est. Illud enim semel profuit, hoc semper proderit civitati: hoc consilio leges Atheniensium, hoc majorum instituta servantur. Et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipse Areopagum juverit: at ille adjuvit Themistoclem. Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatûs ejus, qui à Solone erat constitutus.* Offic. l. i. n. 75.

SECT. V. *Of the Magistrates.*

OF these a great number were established for different functions. I shall speak only of the Archons, who are the most known. I have observed elsewhere that they succeeded the kings, and that their authority at first continued during life. It was afterwards limited to ten years, and reduced at last only to one. When Solon was commissioned to reform the government, he found them upon this foot, and to the number of nine. He did not abolish their office, but he very much diminished their power.

The first of these nine magistrates was called THE ARCHON, by way of eminence, and the year denominated from him: * "Under such an Archon "such a battle was fought." The second was called THE KING, which was a remnant and vestige of the authority to which they had succeeded. The third was THE POLEMARCH, who at first commanded the armies, and always retained that name, though he had not the same authority, of which, however, he had yet preserved some part. For we have seen, in speaking of the battle of Marathon, that the polemarch had a right to vote in the council of war, as well as the ten generals then in command. The six other Archons were called by the common name, THESMOTHETÆ, which implies that they had a particular superintendence over the laws, in order to their being duly observed. These nine archons had each of them a peculiar province, and were judges in certain affairs allotted to their cognizance. I do not think it necessary to enter into the particulars of their duty, nor into those of many other employments and offices established for the administration of

* From thence he was also called Ἐπώνυμος.

justice, for the levying of taxes and tributes, for the preservation of good order in the city, for supplying it with provisions; in a word, for every thing relating to commerce and civil society.

SECT. VI. *Of the Assemblies of the People.*

THESE were of two sorts: the one ordinary and fixed to certain days, and for these there was no kind of summons; the other extraordinary, according to the different occasions that arose, and the people were informed of it by express proclamation.

The place for the assembly was not fixed. Sometimes it was the public market-place, sometimes a part of the city near the citadel, called Πνὺξ, and sometimes the theatre of Bacchus.

The prytanes generally assembled the people. Some days before the assembly, bills were fixed up, wherein the business to be considered was set down.

All the citizens, poor as well as rich, had a right to give their suffrages. Those were liable to a penalty who failed of being present at the assembly, or who came late; and to induce their punctual attendance, a reward was annexed to it, at first of an obolus, which was the sixth part of a drachma, then of three oboli, which made about five pence French.

The assembly always began with sacrifices and prayers, in order to obtain from the gods the knowledge and understanding necessary to wise deliberations; and they never failed to add the most terrible imprecations against such as should wilfully advise any thing contrary to the public good.

The president proposed the affair upon which they were to deliberate. If it had been examined in the senate, and decided upon there, the resolution was read; after which those who wished to speak were invited to ascend the tribunal, that they

might be the better heard by the people, and inform them in the matter proposed. The oldest generally spoke first, and then the rest according to their seniority. When the orators had done speaking, and given their opinion, that it was necessary, for instance, to approve or reject the decree of the senate, the people proceeded to vote; and the most common method of doing it was by holding up their hands, to denote their approbation, which was called χειροτονεῖν. The assembly was sometimes adjourned till another day, because it was too late to distinguish the number of those that lifted up their hands, and decide which party had the majority. After a resolution had been formed in this manner, it was reduced to writing, and read by an officer to the people with a loud voice, who confirmed it again by holding up their hands as before; after which the decree had the force of a law. And this was called ψήφισμα, from the Greek word ψῆφος, which signifies *a pebble*, or *small stone*, because they were sometimes used in giving suffrages by scrutiny.

All the great affairs of the republic were discussed in these assemblies. It was in them that new laws were proposed and old ones amended; every thing that related to religion and the worship of the gods examined; magistrates, generals, and officers created; their behaviour and conduct enquired into; peace or war concluded; deputies and ambassadors appointed; treaties and alliances ratified; freedom of the city granted; rewards and honours decreed to those who had distinguished themselves in war, or rendered great services to the republic; and punishments ordained for those who had behaved themselves ill, or had violated the laws of the state, and were banished by the ostracism. In fine, justice was administered, and judgment passed there, upon the most important affairs. We see from this account, which is, however, very imperfect, how far the people's power extended; and

with what truth it may be said, that the government of Athens, though qualified by the aristocracy and the authority of the elders, was by its constitution democratical and popular.

I shall have occasion to observe in the sequel, of what weight the talent of eloquence must have been in such a republic; and in what great repute orators must have been in it. It is not easy to conceive how they could make themselves heard in so numerous an assembly, and where such a multitude of auditors were present. We may judge how great that was, from what has been said of it in two instances. The first relates to the ostracism, and the other to the adoption of a stranger for a citizen. On each of these occasions, it was necessary that no less than six thousand citizens should be present in the assembly.

I reserve for another place the reflections which naturally arise from what I have already related, and what still remains for me to say upon the government of Athens.

Sect. VII. *Of Trials.*

There were different tribunals, according to the different nature of the affairs to be adjudged, but appeals might be brought to the people from all decrees of the other judges, and this it was that rendered their power so great and considerable. [h] All the allies, when they had any cause to try, were obliged to repair to Athens, where they often remained a considerable time without being able to obtain audience, from the multiplicity of affairs to be adjudged. This law had been imposed upon them, in order to render them more dependent upon the people, and more submissive to their authority; instead of which, had they sent commissioners upon the spot, they would have been the sole persons to whom the

[h] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 664.

allies would have made their court and paid their homage.

The parties pleaded their cause either in person, or employed advocates to do it for them. The time allowed for the hearing was generally fixed, and a water-clock, called in Greek κλεψύδρα, regulated its duration. The decree was passed by plurality of voices; and when the suffrages were equal, the judges inclined to the side of mercy, and acquitted the accused. It is remarkable that a friend was not obliged to give evidence against a friend.

All the citizens, even the poorest, and such as had no estates, were admitted into the number of the judges, provided they had attained the age of thirty, and were known to be persons of good morals. Whilst they sat in judgment, they held in their hands a kind of sceptre, which was the mark of their dignity, and laid it down when they withdrew.

The judges' salary was different at different times. They had at first only an obolus a day, and afterwards three, at which their fee remained fixed. It was but a small matter in itself, but became in time a very great charge to the public, and exhausted the treasury without much enriching individuals. We may judge of this from what is related in Aristophanes's comedy of *The Wasps*, wherein that poet ridicules the fondness of the Athenians for trying causes, and their eager desire for the gain arising from it, which protracted and multiplied suits without end.

In this comedy a young Athenian who was to act the part I have mentioned, of turning the judges and trials of Athens into ridicule, from a computation which he makes of the revenues paid into the public treasury, finds their amount to be two thousand talents.* He then examines how much of that sum falls to the share of the six thousand judges,

* About 280,000*l.* sterling.

with whom Athens was over-run, at three oboli a head *per* day. This appears to be annually, including all of them, only a hundred and fifty talents.* The calculation is easy. The judges were paid only ten months in the year, the other two being employed in festivals, when all proceedings at law were prohibited. Now three oboli a day paid to six thousand men, makes fifteen talents a month, and consequently one hundred and fifty in ten months. According to this calculation, the most assiduous judge gained only seventy-five livres (about three guineas) a year. "What then becomes "of the remainder of the two thousand talents?" cries the young Athenian. "What?" replies his father, who was one of the judges, "it goes to those "——but let us not expose the shame of Athens; "let us always be for the people." The young Athenian goes on to insinuate that the remainder went to such as robbed the public treasury; to the orators, who incessantly flattered the people, and to those who were employed in the government and army. I have extracted this remark from the works of Father Brumoi the Jesuit, of which I have already made much use, where I have spoken of the public shows and dramatic representations.

Sect. VIII. *Of the Amphictyons.*

The famous council of the Amphictyons is introduced here, though it was not peculiar to the Athenians, but common to all Greece, because it is often mentioned in the Grecian history, and I do not know whether I shall have a more natural occasion to mention it.

The assembly of the Amphictyons was in a manner the holding of a general assembly of the states of Greece. The establishment of it is attributed to

* About 7000*l.* sterling.

Amphictyon, king of Athens, and son of Deucalion, who gave them his name. His principal view in the institution of this council, was to unite in the sacred band of amity the several people of Greece admitted into it, and to oblige them by that union to undertake the defence of each other, and be mutually vigilant for the happiness and tranquillity of their country. The Amphictyons were also created to be protectors of the oracle of Delphi, and the guardians of the prodigious riches of that temple, and also to adjudge the differences which might arise between the Delphians and those who came to consult the oracle. This council was held at Thermopylæ, and sometimes at Delphi itself. It assembled regularly twice a year, in the spring and autumn, and more frequently when affairs required.

The number of people or cities which had a right to sit in this assembly is not precisely known, and varied, without doubt, at different times. When the Lacedæmonians, in order to secure to themselves alone an influence over the decrees of this council, were desirous of excluding the Thessalians, Argives, and Thebans;[1] Themistocles, in the speech he made to the Amphictyons to prevent that design from taking effect, seems to insinuate that there were only one-and thirty cities at that time which had this right.

Each city sent two deputies, and, consequently, had two votes in the council; and that without distinction, or the more powerful having any prerogative of honour or pre-eminence over inferior states in regard to the suffrages; the liberty upon which these nations valued themselves, requiring that everything should be equal amongst them.

The Amphictyons had full power to discuss and determine finally in all differences which might arise between the Amphictyonic cities, and to fine the culpable in heavy penalties. They could employ not only the rigour of the laws in the execu-

[1] Plut. in Themist. p. 122.

tion of their decrees, but even raise troops, if it were necessary, to compel such as rebelled to submit to them. The three sacred wars undertaken by their order, of which I have spoken elsewhere, are an evident proof of this power.

Before they were installed into this body, they took a very remarkable oath, of which * Æschines has preserved the form; it runs to this effect: "I "swear that I will never destroy any of the cities "honoured with the right of sitting in the Amphictyonic council, nor turn their running waters out "of their course either in times of war or peace. "If any people shall make such an attempt, I "hereby engage to carry the war into their country, "to demolish their cities, towns, and villages, and "to treat them in every respect as the most cruel "enemies. Moreover, if at any time any person "shall dare to be so impious as to steal and take "away any of the rich offerings preserved in the "temple of Apollo at Delphi, or abet any others in "committing that crime, either by aiding or only "counselling him therein, I will use my feet, hands, "voice; in a word, all my powers and faculties, to "avenge such sacrilege." That oath was attended with the most terrible imprecations and execrations: "That if any one infringes any thing contained in "the oath I have now taken, whether private per"son, city, or people, may that person, city, or "people, be deemed accursed; and, as such, ex"perience the whole vengeance of Apollo, Latona, "Diana, and Minerva the fore-knower. May their "country produce none of the fruits of the earth, "and their women, instead of generating children "resembling their fathers, bring forth nothing but "monsters; and may their animals share in the "same curse. May those sacrilegious men lose "all their suits at law; may they be conquered in "war, have their houses demolished, and be them-

* Æschin. in Orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας.

"selves and their children put to the sword." I am not astonished that after such terrible engagements, the holy war, undertaken by the order of the Amphictyons, should be carried on with so much rancour and fury. The religion of an oath was of great force with the ancients; and how much more regard ought to be had to it in the Christian world, which professes to believe that the violation of it shall be punished with eternal torments; and yet how many are there amongst us who make a jest of breaking through the most solemn oaths?

The authority of the Amphictyons had always been of great weight in Greece, but it began to decline exceedingly from the moment they condescended to admit Philip of Macedon into their body. For that prince, enjoying by this means all their rights and privileges, soon knew how to set himself above all law, and to abuse his power so far as to preside by proxy both in this illustrious assembly and in the Pythian games; of which games the Amphictyons were judges and agonothetæ in virtue of their office. With this Demosthenes reproaches him in his third Philippic: "When he "does not deign," says he, "to honour us with his "presence, he sends his slaves to preside over us." An odious, but emphatical term, and highly characteristic of Grecian liberty, by which the Athenian orator designates the base and abject subjection of the greatest lords in Philip's court.

If the reader desires a more intimate knowledge of what relates to the Amphictyons, the dissertations of Monsieur Valois may be consulted, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, wherein this subject is treated with great extent and erudition.

Sect. IX. *Of the Revenues of Athens.*

The revenues,* according to the passage of Aristophanes, which I have cited above, and consequently as they stood in the time of the Peloponnesian war, amounted to two thousand talents; that is to say, to six millions of livres. They are generally classed under four heads.

1. The first relates to the revenues arising from agriculture, the sale of woods, the produce of the silver mines, and other funds of a like nature, appertaining to the public. Amongst these may be included the duties upon the import and export of merchandise, and the taxes levied upon the inhabitants of the city, as well natives as strangers.

In the history of Athens mention is often made of the silver mines of Laurium, which was a mountain situate between the Piræeus and Cape Sunium, and those of Thrace, from whence many persons drew immense riches. † Xenophon, in a treatise wherein he considers this subject at large, demonstrates how much the public might gain by industriously working these mines, from the example of many individuals who had been enriched by them. [1] Hipponicus let his mines and six hundred slaves to an undertaker, who paid him an ‡ obolus a day for each slave, clear of all charges, which amounted to a mina *per* day, about two pounds five shillings. Nicias, who was killed in Sicily, farmed out his mines and a thousand slaves in the same manner, and with the same profit in proportion to that number.

2. The second species of revenue were the contributions paid to the Athenians by the allies for the

[1] Pag. 925.

* Τέλη. † *De ration. redituum.*

‡ Six oboli made a drachma, one hundred drachmas a mina, and sixty minæ a talent.

common expences of the war. At first, under Aristides they amounted to only four hundred and sixty talents.* Pericles augmented them almost a third, and raised them to six hundred, and some time after they were run up to thirteen hundred. Taxes, which in the beginning were moderate and necessary, became thus in a little time excessive and exorbitant, notwithstanding all the protestations to the contrary made to the allies, and the most solemn engagements entered into with them.

3. A third sort of revenue were the extraordinary capitation taxes, levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as strangers, in pressing occasions and emergencies of the state.

4. The fines laid upon persons by the judges for different misdemeanours, were applied to the uses of the public, and laid up in the treasury, with the exception of the tenth part of them, which was consecrated to Minerva, and a fiftieth to the other divinities.

The most natural and legitimate application of these different revenues of the republic, was in paying the troops both by sea and land, building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing the public buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But the greatest part of them, especially after Pericles's time, was misapplied to unnecessary uses, and often consumed in frivolous expences; games, feasts, and shows, which cost immense sums, and were of no manner of utility to the state.

SECT. X. *Of the Education of the Youth.*

I PLACE this article under the head of government, because all the most celebrated legislators have with reason believed that the education of youth was an essential part of it.

* A talent was worth a thousand crowns.

The exercises that served to form either the bodies or minds of the young Athenians (and as much may be said of almost all the people of Greece), were dancing, music, hunting, fencing, riding, polite learning, and philosophy. It is clear, that I only skim over, and treat very slightly, these several articles.

1. *Dancing. Music.*

Dancing is one of those bodily exercises which was cultivated by the Greeks with great attention. It made a part of what the ancients called the *Gymnastic*, divided, according to * Plato, into two kinds, the *Orchestic*, which takes its name from dancing, and the *Palæstric*†, so called from a Greek word which signifies *wrestling*. The exercises of the latter kind principally conduced to form the body for the fatigues of war, navigation, agriculture, and the other uses of society.

Dancing had another end, and taught such rules of motion as were most proper to render the shape free and easy; to give the body a just proportion, and the whole person an unconstrained, noble, and graceful air; in a word, an external politeness, if we may be allowed to use that expression, which never fails to prepossess people in favour of those who have been formed to it early.

Music was cultivated with no less application and success. The ancients ascribed wonderful effects to it. They believed it well calculated to calm the passions, soften the manners, and even humanize nations naturally savage and barbarous. [m] Polybius, a grave and serious historian, and who is certainly worthy of belief, attributes the extreme difference between two nations of Arcadia, the one infinitely beloved and esteemed for the elegance of their manners, their be-

[m] Polyb. l. iv. p. 288—291.

* Ὀρχεῖσθαι, saltare. † Πάλη.

nevolent inclinations, humanity to strangers, and piety to the gods; the other, on the contrary, generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality, and irreligion: Polybius, I say, ascribes this difference to the study of music, (I mean, says he, the true and genuine music,) industriously cultivated by the one, and absolutely neglected by the other nation.

After this it is not surprising that the Greeks should have considered music as an essential part in the education of youth. * Socrates himself, in a very advanced age, was not ashamed of learning to play upon musical instruments. Themistocles, however otherwise esteemed, † was thought deficient in polite accomplishments, because at an entertainment he could not touch the lyre like the rest of the company. ‡ Ignorance in this respect was deemed a defect of education; on the contrary, skill did honour to the greatest men. § Epaminondas was praised for dancing and playing well upon the flute. We may observe in this place the different tastes and genius of nations. The Romans were far from having the same opinion with the Greeks in regard to music and dancing, and set no value upon them. It is very likely that the wisest and most sensible amongst the latter did not apply to them with any great industry; and Philip's expression to his son Alexander, who had shown too much skill in music at a feast, induces me to be of this opinion: "Are you not ashamed," said he, "to sing so well?"

* *Socrates, jam senex, institui lyrâ non erubescebat.* Quintil. l. i. c. 10.

† *Themistocles, cùm in epulis recusâsset lyram, habitus est indoctior.* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 4.

‡ *Summam eruditionem Græci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus—discebantque id omnes; nec qui nesciebat, satis excultus doctrinâ putabatur.* Ibid.

§ *In Epaminondæ virtutibus commemoratum est saltâsse eum commodè, scienterque tibiis cantâsse—Scilicet non eadem omnibus honesta sunt atque turpia, sed omnia majorum institutis judicantur.* Corn. Nep. in præfat. vit. Epam.

In other respects, there were some grounds for this esteem for dancing and music. Both the one and the other were employed in the most august feasts and ceremonies of religion, to express with greater force and dignity their acknowledgment to the gods for the favours they had vouchsafed to confer upon them. They formed generally the greatest and most agreeable part of their feasts and entertainments, which seldom or ever began or ended without some odes being sung, like those in honour of the victors in the Olympic games, and on other similar subjects. They had a part also in war; and we know that the Lacedæmonians marched to battle dancing, and to the sound of flutes. [n] Plato, the most grave philosopher of antiquity, considered both these arts, not as simple amusements, but as having a great share in the ceremonies of religion and military exercises. Hence we see him very intent, in his books of laws, to prescribe judicious regulations with respect to dancing and music, in order to keep them within the bounds of utility and decorum.

They did not continue long within these restrictions. The licentiousness of the Grecian stage, on which dancing was in the highest vogue, and in a manner prostituted to buffoons and the most contemptible people, who made no other use of it than to awaken or cherish the most vicious passions; this licentiousness, I say, soon corrupted an art which might have been of some advantage, had it been regulated by Plato's opinion. Music had a like destiny; and perhaps the corruption of this did not a little contribute to the depraving and perverting of dancing. Voluptuousness and sensual pleasure were the sole arbiters consulted as to the use which was to be made of both, and the theatre became a school of every kind of vice.

[o] Plutarch, in lamenting that the art of dancing was much fallen from the merit which rendered it so estimable to the great men of antiquity, does not

[n] De leg. l. vii. [o] Sympos. l. ix. qu. 15. p. 748.

omit to observe, that it was corrupted by a vicious kind of poetry, and a soft effeminate music, with which it had formed an injudicious union, and which had taken place of that ancient poetry and music, which had something noble, majestic, and even religious and heavenly in them. He adds, that being made subservient to voluptuousness and sensuality, it exercised, by their aid, a kind of tyrannical power in the theatres, which were become the public schools of criminal passions and gross vices, wherein no regard was paid to reason.

The reader, without my reminding him, will make the application of this passage of Plutarch to that sort of music with which our theatres resound at this day, and which, by its effeminate and wanton airs, has given the last wound to the little manly force and virtue that remained among us. Quintilian describes the music of his times in these terms: [p] *Quæ nunc in scenis effeminata, et impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minimâ, si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit.*

2. *Of the other exercises of the body.*

The young Athenians, and in general all the Greeks, were very careful to form themselves in all the exercises of the body, and to take lessons regularly from the masters of the Palæstræ. They called the places allotted for these exercises, Palæstræ or Gymnasia; which answers very near to our academies. Plato, in his books of laws, after having shown of what importance it was with a view to war to cultivate strength and agility of the hands and feet, adds, [q] that, far from banishing from a well-regulated republic the profession of the Athletæ, on the contrary, prizes ought to be proposed for all exercises that conduce to the improvement of the military art: such are those which render the body more active, and fitter for the race; more hardy,

[p] Quintil. l. i. c. 10. [q] Lib. viii. de leg. p. 832, 833.

robust, and supple; more capable of supporting great fatigues, and effecting great enterprises. We must remember, that there was no Athenian who ought not to have been capable of handling the oar in the largest galleys. The citizens themselves performed this office, which was not left to slaves and criminals, as in these days. They were all destined to the trade of war, and often obliged to wear armour of iron from head to foot of a great weight. For this reason Plato, and all the ancients, looked upon the exercises of the body as highly useful, and even absolutely necessary to the good of the public, and therefore this philosopher excludes only those which were of no service in war.

[r] There were also masters who taught the youth to ride, and to handle their arms, or fence; and others whose business it was to instruct them in all that was necessary to be known, in order to excel in the art military, and to become good commanders. The whole science of the latter consisted in what the ancients called Tactics, that is to say, the art of drawing up troops in battle, and of making military evolutions. That science was useful, but was not sufficient. [s] Xenophon shows its insufficiency, by producing a young man lately come from such a school, in which he imagined he had learnt every thing, though in reality he had only acquired a foolish esteem for himself, attended with perfect ignorance. He gives him, by the mouth of Socrates, admirable precepts as to the business of a soldier, and well calculated to form an excellent officer.

Hunting was also considered by the ancients as an exercise well calculated for forming youth to the stratagems and fatigues of war. It is for this reason that Xenophon, who was no less a great general than a great philosopher, [t] did not think it below him to write a treatise expressly upon hunting, in which he descends to the minutest particulars; and points out

[r] Plat. in Lachete, p. 181. [s] Memorab. l. iii. p. 761, &c.
[t] De venatione.

the considerable advantages that may be derived from it, from being inured to suffer hunger, thirst, heat, cold, without being discouraged either by the length of the course, the difficulty of the clifts and thickets through which it is often necessary to press, or the small success of the long and painful fatigues which are often undergone to no purpose. He adds, that this innocent pleasure removes others equally shameful and criminal; and that a wise and moderate man would not, however, abandon himself so much to it as to neglect the care of his domestic affairs. [u] The same author, in the Cyropædia, frequently praises hunting, which he looks upon as a real study of the art of war; and shows, in the example of his young hero, the good use that may be made of it.

3. *Of the exercises of the mind.*

Athens, properly speaking, was the school and abode of polite learning, arts, and sciences. The study of poesy, eloquence, philosophy, and mathematics, was in great vogue there, and much cultivated by the youth.

The young people were sent first to learn grammar under masters, who taught them regularly, and upon proper principles, their own language; by which they attained a knowledge of its whole beauty, energy, number, and cadence. [x] Hence proceeded that fine taste which universally pervaded Athens, where, as history informs us, a simple herb-woman distinguished Theophrastus to be a foreigner, from the affectation of a single word in expressing himself. And from the same cause the orators were greatly apprehensive of letting fall the least injudicious expression, for fear of offending so refined and delicate an audience. It was very common for the young people to get the tragedies represented upon the

[u] Cyrop, l. i. p. 5, 6. & l. ii. p. 59, 60. [x] Cic. in Brut. n. 172. Quintil. l. viii. c. 1. Plut. in Peric. p 156.

stage by heart. We have seen, that after the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, many of them, who had been taken prisoners and made slaves, softened their slavery by reciting the works of Euripides to their masters, who, extremely delighted with hearing such sublime verses, treated them from thenceforth with kindness and humanity. The compositions of the other poets had no doubt the same effect; and Plutarch tells us, that Alcibiades, when very young, having entered a school in which there was not a Homer, gave the master a box on the ear as an ignorant fellow,[y] and one who dishonoured his profession.

As for eloquence, it is no wonder that it was particularly studied at Athens. It was that which opened the way to the highest offices, reigned absolute in the assemblies, decided the most important affairs of the state, and gave an almost unlimited power to those who had the talent of oratory in an eminent degree.

This therefore was the great employment of the young citizens of Athens, especially of those who aspired to the highest offices. To the study of rhetoric, they annexed that of philosophy. I comprise under the latter all the sciences which are either parts of, or relate to, it. The persons known to antiquity under the name of Sophists had acquired a great reputation at Athens, especially in the time of Socrates. These teachers, who were as presumptuous as avaricious, set themselves up for universal scholars. Their chief strength lay in philosophy and eloquence, both of which they corrupted by the false taste and wrong principles which they instilled into their disciples. I have observed, in the life of Socrates, that philosopher's endeavours and success in discrediting them.

[y] In Alcib. p. 194.

CHAP. II.

OF WAR.

SECT. I. *The nations of Greece in all times very warlike, especially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

No people of antiquity (I except the Romans) can dispute the glory of arms and military virtue with the Greeks. During the Trojan war Greece signalized her valour in battle, and acquired immortal fame by the bravery of the captains she sent thither. This expedition was however, properly speaking, no more than the cradle of her infant glory; and the great exploits by which she distinguished herself there, were only her first essays and apprenticeship in the art of war.

There were in Greece several small republics, neighbours to one another by their situation, but widely distant in their customs, laws, characters, and particularly in their interests. This difference of manners and interests was a continual source and occasion of divisions amongst them. Every city, little satisfied with its own territory, was studious to aggrandize itself at the expence of its next neighbours, according as they lay most commodious for it. Hence all these little states, either out of ambition, and to extend their conquests, or the necessity of a just defence, were always under arms; and by that continual exercise of war, there was formed throughout the whole of these nations a martial spirit, and an intrepidity of courage which made them invincible in the field; as appeared in the sequel, when the whole united forces of the East came to invade Greece, and made her sensible of her own strength, and of what she was capable.

Two cities distinguished themselves above the

rest, and held indisputably the first rank; these were Sparta and Athens: in consequence of which those cities, either successively or together, had the empire of Greece, and maintained themselves through a long series of time in a power which the sole superiority of merit, universally acknowledged by all the other states, had acquired them. This merit consisted principally in their military knowledge and martial virtue; of which both of them had given the most glorious proofs in the war against the Persians. Thebes disputed this honour with them for some years, by surprising actions of valour, which had something of prodigy in them: but this was but a short-lived blaze, which, after having shone out with exceeding splendour, soon disappeared, and left that city in its original obscurity. Sparta and Athens will therefore be the only objects of our reflections, as to what relates to war; and we shall join them together, in order to be the better able to form a notion of their characters, as well in what they resemble, as in what they differ from each other.

SECT. II. *Origin and cause of the valour and military virtue by which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians always distinguished themselves.*

ALL the laws of Sparta and all the institutions of Lycurgus seem to have had no other object than war, and tended solely to the making the subjects of that republic a body of soldiers. All other employments, all other exercises, were prohibited amongst them. Arts, polite learning, sciences, trades, even husbandry itself, formed no part of their employment, and seemed in their eyes unworthy of them. From their earliest infancy no other taste was instilled into them, but for arms; and indeed the Spartan education was wonderfully well adapted to that end. To go barefoot, to lie on the bare ground, to be satisfied with little

meat and drink, to suffer heat and cold, to be exercised continually in hunting, wrestling, running on foot and horseback, to be inured to blows and wounds so as to vent neither complaint nor groan; these were the rudiments of education of the Spartan youth with regard to war, and enabled them one day to support all its fatigues, and to confront all its dangers.

The habit of obeying, contracted from the most early years, respect for the magistrates and elders, a perfect submission to the laws, from which no age nor condition was exempt, prepared them amazingly for military discipline, which is in a manner the soul of war, and the principle of success in all great enterprises.

Now one of these laws was to conquer or die, and never to surrender to the enemy. Leonidas with his three hundred Spartans was an illustrious example of this; and his intrepid valour, extolled in all ages with the highest applauses, and proposed as a model to all posterity, had given the same spirit to the nation, and traced them out the plan they were to follow. The disgrace and infamy annexed to the violation of this law, and to such as quitted their arms in battle, confirmed the observance of it, and rendered it in a manner inviolable. The mothers recommended to their sons, when they set out for the field, to return either with or upon their bucklers. They did not weep for those who died with their arms in their hands, but for those who preserved themselves by flight. Can we be surprised, after this, that a small body of such soldiers, with such principles, should put to a stand an innumerable army of barbarians?

The Athenians were not bred up so roughly as the people of Sparta, but had no less valour. The taste of the two nations was quite different in regard to education and employment; but they attained the same end, though by different means. The Spartans knew only how to use their arms, and were soldiers alone: but amongst the Athenians

(and we must say as much of the other people of Greece) arts, trades, husbandry, commerce, and navigation, were held in honour, and thought no disgrace to any one. These occupations were no obstacles to military skill and valour; they disqualified none for rising to the greatest commands and the first dignities of the republic. Plutarch observes, that Solon, seeing the territory of Attica was barren, applied himself to direct the industry of his citizens towards arts, trades, and commerce, in order to supply his country thereby with what it wanted on the side of fertility. This taste became one of the maxims of the government and fundamental laws of the state, and perpetuated itself amongst the people, but without lessening in the least their ardour for war.

The ancient glory of the nation, which had always distinguished itself by military bravery, was a powerful motive for not degenerating from the reputation of their ancestors. The famous battle of Marathon, wherein they had sustained alone the shock of the barbarians, and gained a signal victory over them, infinitely heightened their courage; and the battle of Salamis, in the success of which they had the greatest share, raised them to the highest pitch of glory, and rendered them capable of the greatest enterprises.

A noble emulation not to give place in merit to Sparta, the rival of Athens, and a keen jealousy of their glory, which during the war with the Persians contained itself within due bounds, were another strong incentive to the Athenians, who every day made new efforts to excel themselves, and sustain their reputation.

The rewards and honours granted to those who had distinguished themselves in battle; the monuments erected in memory of the citizens who had died in the defence of their country; the funeral orations publicly pronounced in the midst of the most august religious ceremonies, to render their

names immortal: all conspired in the highest degree to eternize the valour of the Athenians particularly, and to make fortitude a kind of law and indispensable necessity to them.

[z] Athens had a law by which it was ordained, that those who had been maimed in war should be maintained at the expence of the public. The same favour was granted to the fathers and mothers, as well as to the children, of such as had fallen in battle and left their families poor and not in a condition to support themselves. The republic, like a good mother, generously took them into her care, and fulfilled towards them all the duties and procured them all the relief, that they could have expected from those whose loss they deplored.

This exalted the courage of the Athenians, and rendered their troops invincible, though not very numerous. In the battle of Platææ, where the army of the barbarians, commanded by Mardonius, consisted at the least of three hundred thousand men, and the united forces of the Greeks of only one hundred and eight thousand two hundred men, there were in the latter only ten thousand Lacedæmonians, of which one half were Spartans, that is to say inhabitants of Sparta, and eight thousand Athenians. It is true, each Spartan brought with him seven Helots, which made in all thirty-five thousand men; but they were scarce ever reckoned as soldiers.

This shining merit in point of martial valour, generally acknowledged by the other states, did not suppress in their minds all sentiments of envy and jealousy; as appeared once in relation to the Lacedæmonians. The allies, who were very much superior to them in number, could with difficulty endure to see themselves subjected to their order, and murmured against it in secret. Agesilaus,

[z] Plut in Solon. p. 96. Plat. in Menex. p. 248, 249. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

king of Sparta, without seeming to have any knowledge of their disgust, assembled the whole army; and after having made all the allies sit down on one side, and the Lacedæmonians by themselves on the other, he caused proclamation to be made by a herald, that all smiths, masons, carpenters, (and so on, through the other trades,) should rise up. Almost all the allies did so, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, to whom all trades were prohibited. Agesilaus then smiling, "You see," said he, "how "many more soldiers Sparta alone furnishes than "all the rest of the allies together;" thereby intimating, that to be a good soldier, it was necessary to be only a soldier; that trades diverted the artizan from applying himself wholly to the profession of arms and the science of war, and prevented his succeeding so well in it as those who made it their sole business and exercise. But Agesilaus spoke and acted in that manner from his prejudice in favour of the Lacedæmonian education; for indeed those whom he wished to consider only as simple artisans, demonstrated by the glorious victories they obtained over the Persians, and even Sparta itself, that they were by no means inferior to the Lacedæmonians, entirely soldiers as they were, either in valour or military knowledge.

Sect. III. *Different kind of troops of which the armies of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were composed.*

The armies both of Sparta and Athens were composed of four sorts of troops; citizens, allies, mercenaries, and slaves. The soldiers were sometimes marked in the hand, to distinguish them from the slaves, who had that character impressed upon their forehead. Interpreters believe, that it is in allusion to this double manner of marking, that it is said in

the Revelation, that all were obliged[a] "to receive "the mark of the beast in the right hand, or in "their foreheads;" and that St. Paul says of himself;[b] I bear in my body the marks of the Lord "Jesus."

The citizens of Lacedæmonia were of two sorts; either those who inhabited Sparta itself, and who for that reason were called Spartans, or those who lived in the country. In Lycurgus's time the Spartans amounted to nine thousand, and the others to thirty thousand. This number seems to have been somewhat diminished in the time of Xerxes, as Demaratus, speaking to him of the Lacedæmonian troops, computes only eight thousand Spartans. The latter were the flower of the nation; and we may judge of the value they set upon them, by the anxiety the republic expressed for the three or four hundred besieged by the Athenians in the small island of Sphacteria, where they were taken prisoners. The Lacedæmonians generally spared the troops of their country very much, and sent only a few of them into the armies; but even these few constituted their chief strength. When a Lacedæmonian general was asked, how many Spartans there were in the army; he answered, "as many as are "necessary to repulse the enemy." They served the state at their own expence, and it was not till after a length of time that they received pay from the public.

The greatest number of the troops in the two republics were composed of the *Allies*, who were paid by the cities which sent them.

The foreign troops, who were paid by the republic to whose aid they were called in, were styled *Mercenaries*.

The Spartans never marched without Helots, and we have seen that in the battle of Platææ every citizen had seven. I do not believe this number was fixed, nor do I well comprehend for what service they were designed. It would have been very

[a] Rev. xiii. 16. [b] Gal. vi. 17.

bad policy to have put arms into the hands of so great a number of slaves, generally much discontented with their masters' harsh treatment of them, and who consequently would have had every thing to fear from them in a battle. Herodotus, however, in the passage I have cited from him, represents them carrying arms in the field as light-armed soldiers.

The infantry consisted of two kinds of soldiers. The one were heavy-armed, and carried great bucklers, lances, half-pikes and scimitars; and of these the main strength of the army consisted. The other were light-armed, that is to say, with bows and slings. They were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings as a first line, to shoot arrows, and fling javelins and stones at the enemy; and when they had discharged, they retired through the intervals behind the battalions as a second line, and continued their volleys.

[c] Thucydides, in describing the battle of Mantinæa, divides the Lacedæmonian troops in this manner. There were seven regiments of four companies each, without including the Sciritæ, to the number of six hundred; these were horsemen, of whom I shall soon speak further. The company consisted, according to the Greek interpreter, of a hundred and twenty-eight men, and was subdivided into four squadrons, each of thirty-two men. So that a regiment amounted to five hundred and twelve men, and the seven made together three thousand five hundred fourscore and four. Each squadron had four men in front and eight in depth, for that was the usual depth of the files, which the officers might change according as circumstances required.

The Lacedæmonians did not actually begin to use cavalry till after the war with Messene, where they perceived their want of it. They raised their horse principally in a small city not far from Lacedæmon, called *Sciros*, from whence these troops were denominated *Sciritæ*. They were al-

[c] Thucyd. l. v. p. 390.

ways on the extremity of the left wing, and this was their post by right.

Cavalry was still more rare amongst the Athenians: the situation of Attica, broken with abundance of mountains, was the cause of this. It did not amount, after the war with the Persians, which was the time when the prosperity of Greece was at the highest, to more than three hundred horse: but increased afterwards to twelve hundred; a very small body, however, for so powerful a republic.

I have already observed, that amongst the ancients, as well Greeks as Romans, no mention is made of the stirrup, which is very surprising. They threw themselves nimbly on horseback:

Corpora saltu
Subjiciunt in equos.———Æn. l. xii. ver. 287.

And with a leap sit steady on the horse.

Sometimes the horse, trained early to that practice, would bend his fore legs to give his master the opportunity of mounting with more ease;

Inde inclinatus collum, submissus et armos
De more, inflexis præbebat scandere terga
Cruribus. Sil. Ital. de equo Cœlii Equ. Rom.

Those whom age or weakness rendered heavy, made use of a servant in mounting on horseback; in which they imitated the Persians, with whom it was the common custom. Gracchus caused handsome stones to be placed on each side of the great roads of Italy at certain distances from one another, to help travellers to get on horseback without the assistance of any body.*

I am surprised that the Athenians, expert as they were in the art of war, did not perceive that the cavalry was the most essential part of an army, especially in battles; and that some of their gene-

* Ἀναβολέως μὴ δεδμένοις. Plut. in Gracch. p. 838. This word ἀναβολεὺς, signifies a servant who helped his master to mount on horseback.

rals did not turn their attention that way, as Themistocles did towards maritime affairs. Xenophon was well capable of rendering them a similar service in respect to the cavalry, of the importance of which he was perfectly apprised. He wrote two treatises upon this subject; one of which regards the care it is necessary to take of horses, and how to acquire a knowledge of them, and to break them; which he treats with astonishing minuteness: and the other gives instructions for training and exercising the troopers themselves; both well worth the reading of all who profess arms. In the latter he states the means of placing the cavalry in honour, and lays down rules upon the art military in general, which might be of very great use to all those who are designed for the profession of arms.

I have been surprised, in running over this second treatise, to see with what care Xenophon, a soldier and a pagan, recommends the practice of religion, a veneration for the gods, and the necessity of imploring their aid upon all occasions. He repeats this maxim in thirteen different places of a tract in other respects brief enough; and rightly judging that these religious insinuations might give some people offence, he makes a kind of apology for them, and concludes the piece with a reflection which I shall repeat entire in this place. "If any "one," says he, "wonders that I insist so much "here upon the necessity of not forming any enter- "prise without first endeavouring to render the Di- "vinity favourable and propitious, let him reflect, "that there are in war a thousand unforeseen and "hazardous conjunctures, wherein the generals, vi- "gilant to take advantages and lay ambuscades for "each other, from the uncertainty of an enemy's "motions, can take no other counsel than that of "the gods. Nothing is doubtful or obscure with "them. They unfold the future to whomsoever "they please, by the inspection of the entrails of "beasts, by the singing of birds, by visions, or in

" dreams. Now we may presume that the gods " are more inclined to illuminate the minds of such " as consult them not only in urgent necessities, " but who at all times, and when no dangers " threaten them, render them all the homage and " adoration of which they are capable."

It was worthy of this great man to give the most important of instructions to his son Gryllus, to whom he addresses the treatise we mention, and who, according to the common opinion, was appointed to discipline the Athenian cavalry.

SECT. IV. *Of maritime affairs, fleets, and naval forces.*

IF the Athenians were inferior to the Lacedæmonians in cavalry, they had infinitely the advantage over them in naval affairs; and we have seen their skill in that department make them masters at sea, and give them a great superiority over all the other states of Greece. As this subject is very necessary to the understanding many passages in history, I shall treat it rather more extensively than I have other matters, and shall make great use of what the learned Father Dom Bernard de Montfaucon has said of it in his books upon antiquity.

The principal parts of a ship were the prow or head, the poop or stern, and the middle, called in Latin *carina*, the hulk or waist.

The PROW was the part which projected beyond the waist or belly of the ship: it was generally adorned with paintings and different sculptures of gods, men, or animals. The beak, called *rostrum*, lay lower, and level with the water: it was a piece of timber which projected from the prow, armed with a spike of brass, and sometimes of iron. The Greeks termed it ἔμβολον.

The other end of the ship, opposite to the prow,

was called the POOP. There the pilot sat and held the helm, which was an oar longer and larger than the rest.

The WAIST was the hollow of the vessel, or the hold.

The ships were of two kinds. The one were rowed with oars, which were ships of war; the other carried sails, and were vessels of burden, intended for commerce and transports. Both of them sometimes made use of oars and sails together, but that very rarely. The ships of war are also very often called long ships by authors, and by that name distinguished from vessels of burden.

The long ships were further divided into two species: those which were called *actuariæ naves*, and were very light vessels, like our brigantines; and those called only long ships. The first were usually termed *open ships*, because they had no decks. Of these light vessels there were some larger than ordinary, of which some had twenty, some thirty, and others forty oars, half on one side, and half on the other, all on the same line.

The long ships, which were used in war, were of two sorts. Some had only one rank of oars on each side; the others two, three, four, five, or a greater number, as far as forty; but these last were rather for show than use.

The long ships of one rank of oars were called *aphracti;* that is to say, uncovered, and had no decks: this distinguished them from the *cataphracti*, which had decks. They had only small platforms to stand on, at the head and stern, in the time of action.

The ships most commonly used in the battles of the ancients, were those which carried from three to five ranks or benches of oars, and were called *triremes* and *quinqueremes*.

It is a great question, and has given occasion for abundance of learned dissertations, how these benches of oars were disposed. Some will have it,

that they were placed at length, like the ranks of oars in the modern galleys. Others maintain, that the benches of the biremes, triremes, quinqueremes, and so on to the number of forty in some vessels, were one above another. To support this last opinion, innumerable passages are cited from ancient authors, which seem to leave no manner of doubt in it, and are considerably corroborated by the evidence of Trajan's pillar, which represents these ranks one above another. Father Montfaucon, however, avers, that all the persons of greatest skill in naval affairs whom he had consulted, declared, that the thing conceived in that manner, seemed to them utterly impossible. But reasoning is a weak proof against the experience of so many ages, confirmed by so many authors. It is true, that in admitting these ranks of oars to be disposed perpendicularly one above another, it is not easy to comprehend how they could be worked; but in the biremes and triremes of Trajan's pillar, the lower ranks are placed obliquely, and as it were, rising by degrees.

In ancient times ships with several ranks of oars were not known: they made use of long ships, in which the rowers, however numerous they were, worked all upon the same line. [d] Such was the fleet which the Greeks sent against Troy. It was composed of twelve hundred sail, among which the galleys of Bœotia had each a hundred and twenty men, and those of Philoctetes fifty; and this no doubt denotes the greatest and smallest vessels. Their galleys had no decks, but were built like common boats; which is still practised, says Thucydides, by the pirates, to prevent their being so soon discovered at a distance.

[e] The Corinthians are said to have been the first who changed the form of ships; and instead of simple galleys made vessels with three ranks, in order to add, by increasing the number of oars, to

[d] Thucyd. l. i. p. 8. [e] Thucyd. l. i. p. 10.

the swiftness and impetuosity of their motion. Their city, advantageously situated between two seas, was well adapted for commerce, and served as a staple for merchandise. After their example, the inhabitants of Corcyra, and the tyrants of Sicily, equipped also many galleys of three benches, a little before the war against the Persians. It was about the same time that the Athenians, animated by the forcible exhortations of Themistocles, who foresaw the war which soon after broke out, built ships of the same form, though even then the deck did not reach the whole length of the vessel; and from thenceforth they applied themselves to naval affairs with incredible ardour and success.

The beak of the prow (*rostrum*) was that part of the vessel of which most use was made in sea-fights. [f] Ariston of Corinth persuaded the Syracusans, when their city was besieged by the Athenians, to make their prows lower and shorter; which advice gained them the victory. For the prows of the Athenian vessels being very high and very weak, their beaks struck only the parts above water, and for that reason did little damage to the enemy's ships; whereas those of the Syracusans, whose prows were strong and low, and their beaks level with the water, often sunk, at a single blow, the triremes of the Athenians.

Two sorts of people served on board these galleys. The one were employed in steering and working the ship, who were the rowers, *remiges*, and the mariners, *nautæ*. The rest were soldiers intended for the fight, and are denoted in Greek by the word ἐπιβάται. This distinction did not prevail in the early times, when the same persons rowed, fought, and did all the necessary work of the ship; and this was also not wholly disused in later days. For Thucydides, [g] in describing the arrival of the Athenian fleet at the small island of Sphacteria, observes, that only the rowers of the lowest bench

[f] Diod. l. xiii. p. 141. [g] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 275.

remained in the ships, and that the rest went on shore with their arms.

1. The condition of the rowers was very hard and laborious. I have already said that the rowers, as well as mariners, were all citizens and freemen, and not slaves or foreigners, as in these days. The rowers were distinguished by their several stages. The lower rank were called *thalamitæ*, the middle *zugitæ*, and the highest *thranitæ*. Thucydides remarks, that the latter had greater pay than the rest, because they worked with longer and heavier oars than those of the lower benches. * It seems that the crew, in order to pull in concert, and with greater regularity, were sometimes guided by the singing of a man, and sometimes by the sound of an instrument; and this grateful harmony served not only to regulate the motion of their oars, but to diminish and sooth their toil.

It is a question amongst the learned, whether there was only one man to every oar in these great ships, or several, as in the galleys of these days. What Thucydides observes concerning the pay of the thranitæ, seems to imply that they worked single. For if others had shared the work with them, wherefore had they greater pay given them than those who managed an oar alone, as the latter had as much, and perhaps more of the labour than they? Father Montfaucon believes that in the vessels of more than five ranks there might be several men to one oar.

He who took care of the whole crew, and commanded the vessel, was called *nauclerus*, and was the principal officer. The second was the pilot, *gubernator;* his place was in the poop, where he held the helm in his hand, and steered the vessel. His skill consisted in knowing the coasts, ports, rocks, shoals, and especially the winds and stars;

* *Musicam natura ipsa videtur ad tolerandos facilius labores veluti muneri nobis dedisse. Siquidem et remiges cantus hortatur; nec solùm in iis operibus, in quibus plurium conatus præeunte aliquâ jucundâ voce conspirat, sed etiam singulorum fatigatio quamlibet se rudi modulatione solatur.* Quintil. l. i. c. 10.

for before the invention of the compass, the pilot had nothing to direct him during the night but the stars.

2. The soldiers who fought in the ships were armed almost in the same manner with the land forces. There was no fixed number. [h] The Athenians, at the battle of Salamis, had a hundred and fourscore vessels, and in each of them eighteen fighting men, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy-armed troops. The officer who commanded these soldiers was called τριήραρχος, and the commander of the whole fleet, ναύαρχος or στρατηγός.

We cannot exactly ascertain the number of soldiers, mariners, and rowers, that served on board each ship; but it generally amounted to two hundred, more or less, as appears from Herodotus's estimate of the Persian fleet in the time of Xerxes, and in other places where mention is made of that of the Greeks. I mean here the great vessels, the triremes, which were the species most in use.

The pay of those who served in these ships varied very much at different times. When the younger Cyrus arrived in Asia, [i] it was only three oboli, which was half a drachma, or five-pence; and the *treaty between the Persians and Lacedæmonians was concluded at that rate; which gives reason to believe that the usual pay was three oboli. Cyrus, at Lysander's request, added a fourth, which made sixpence-halfpenny a day. [k] It was often raised to a whole drachma, about ten-pence French. In the fleet fitted out against Sicily, the Athenians gave a drachma a day to the troops. The sum of sixty talents, † [l] which the people of Egesta advanced to the Athenians monthly for the maintaining of sixty ships, shows that the pay of each vessel for a month amounted to a talent, that is to say, to about one

[h] Plut. in Themist. p. 119. [i] Xenoph. Hist. l. i. p. 441.
[k] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 431. [l] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415.

* This treaty stipulated that the Persians should pay thirty minæ a month for each ship, which was half a talent; the whole amounted to three oboli a day for every man that served on board.

† About 8,400*l.* sterling.

hundred and forty pounds; which supposes that each ship's company consisted of two hundred men, each of whom received a drachma, or ten-pence, a day. As the officers' pay was higher, the republic perhaps either furnished the overplus, or it was deducted out of the total of the sum advanced for a vessel, by abating something in the pay of the private men.

The same may be said of the land troops as has been said of the seamen, except that the cavalry had double their pay. It appears that the ordinary pay of the foot was three oboli a day, and that it was augmented according to times and occasions. [m] Thimbron the Lacedæmonian, when he marched against Tissaphernes, promised a darick a month to each soldier, two to a captain, and four to the colonels. Now a darick a month is four oboli a day. The younger Cyrus, to animate his troops, who were disheartened by the idea of a too long march, instead of one darick, promised one and a half to each soldier, which amounted to a drachma, or ten-pence French, a day.

It may be asked how the Lacedæmonians, whose iron coin, the only species current amongst them, would pass no where else, could maintain armies by sea and land; and where they found money for their subsistence. It is not to be doubted but they raised it, as the Athenians did, by contributions from their allies, and still more from the cities to which they gave liberty and protection, or from those they had conquered from their enemies. Their second fund for paying their fleet and armies was the aids which they drew from the king of Persia, as we have seen on several occasions.

Sect. V. *Peculiar character of the Athenians.*

Plutarch will furnish us with almost all the leading features upon this head. Every body knows how well he succeeds in copying nature in his portraits, and how well calculated he was to trace the

[m] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. l. vii.

character of a people, whose genius and manners he had studied with so profound an attention,

[n] "I. *The people of Athens," says Plutarch, "are easily provoked to anger, and as easily in- "duced to resume sentiments of benevolence and "compassion." History supplies us with an infinity of examples of this kind: the sentence of death passed against the inhabitants of Mitylene, and revoked the next day: the condemnation of the ten generals, and that of Socrates,—both followed with an immediate repentance and the most lively grief.

"II. †They are better pleased with forming a "prompt decision, and almost guessing at the re- "sult of an affair, than with giving themselves lei- "sure to be informed in it thoroughly, and in all "its extent."

Nothing is more surprising than this circumstance in their character, which it is very hard to conceive, as it seems almost incredible. Artificers, husbandmen, soldiers, mariners, are generally a heavy kind of people, and very dull in their conceptions; but the people of Athens were of a quite different turn. They had naturally a penetration, vivacity, and even delicacy of wit, that surprise us. I have already mentioned what happened to Theophrastus. ‡ He was cheapening something of an old woman at Athens that sold herbs: "No, Mr. Stranger," said she, "you shall not have it for less." He was much surprised to see himself treated as a stranger, who had passed almost his whole life at Athens, and piqued himself upon excelling all others in the elegance of his language. It was, how-

[n] Plut. de præcept. reip. ger. p. 793.

* Ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων εὐκίνητός ἐστι πρὸς ὀργήν, εὐμείλικτος πρὸς ἔλεον.

† Μᾶλλον ὀξέως ὑπονοεῖν, ἢ διδάσκεσθαι καθ' ἡσυχίαν βουλόμενος.

‡ *Cùm Theophrastus percontaretur ex aniculâ quâdam, quanti aliquid venderet, et respondisset illa, atque addidisset, Hospes, non pote minoris; tulit molestè, se non effugere hospitis speciem, cùm ætatem ageret Athenis, optiméque loqueretur.* Cic. de Clar. Orat. n. 17.

ever, from that she knew he was not of her country. We have seen that the Athenian soldiers knew the fine passages of the tragedies of Euripides by heart. Besides, these artificers and soldiers, from assisting at the public deliberations, were versed in affairs of state, and understood every thing at half a word. We may judge of this from the orations of Demosthenes, whose style we know is ardent, nervous, and concise.

" III. * As they are naturally inclined to relieve " persons of a low condition and mean circum- " stances, so are they fond of conversations sea- " soned with pleasantry, and calculated to make " people laugh."

° They assisted persons of a mean condition, because from such they had nothing to apprehend in regard to their liberty, and saw in them the characters of equality and resemblance with themselves. They loved pleasantry, and in that showed they were men; but men abounding with good nature and indulgence, who understood raillery, who were not prone to take offence, nor over delicate in point of the respect due to them. One day when the assembly was fully formed, and the people had already taken their places, Cleon, after having made them wait his coming a great while, appeared at last with a wreath of flowers upon his head, and desired the people to adjourn their deliberations to the next day: " For to-day," said he, " I have business. I have " been sacrificing to the gods, and am to entertain " some strangers, my friends, at supper." The Athenians, setting up a laugh, rose, and broke up the assembly. At Carthage, it would have cost any man his life, who had presumed to vent such a pleasantry, and to take such a liberty with a proud,†

° Xenoph. de Athen. Rep. p. 691.

* Ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς βοηθεῖν προθυμότερος, ἕτως τῶν λόγων τὲς παιγνιώδεις καὶ γελοίες ἀσπάζεται καὶ προτιμᾷ.

† Πικρὸν, σκυθρωπὸν, πρὸς παιδιαν καὶ χαρὶν ἀνήδυτον καὶ σκληρὸν.

haughty, jealous, morose, people, little disposed by nature to cultivate the graces, and still less inclined to humour. Upon another occasion the orator Stratocles, having informed the people of a victory, and in consequence caused sacrifices to be offered, three days after news came of the defeat of the army. As the people expressed their discontent and resentment upon the false information, he asked them, "of what "they had to complain, and what harm he had "done them, in making them pass three days more "agreeably than they would else have done?"

"IV. * They are pleased with hearing themselves praised, and yet readily bear to be ridiculed or criticised." The least acquaintance with Aristophanes and Demosthenes will show, with what address and effect they employed praises and censure with regard to the people of Athens.

[p] When the republic enjoyed peace and tranquillity, says the same Plutarch in another place, the Athenian people diverted themselves with the orators who flattered them; but in important affairs and emergencies of the state, they became serious, and gave the preference to those whose custom it had been to oppose their unjust desires; such as Pericles, Phocion, and Demosthenes.

"V. † They keep even those who govern them in awe, and show their humanity even to their enemies."

The people of Athens made good use of the talents of those who distinguished themselves by their eloquence and prudence; but they were full of suspicion, and kept themselves always on their guard against their superiority of genius and ability; they took pleasure in restraining their courage, and

[p] Plut. in Phocion. p. 746.

* Τοῖς μὲν ἐπαινέσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα χαίρει, τοῖς δὲ σκωπτεσιν ἥκιστα δυσχεραίνει.

† Φόβερός ἐστιν ἀρχὴ τῶν ἀρχόντων, εἶτα φιλάνθρωπος ἀρχὴ τῶν πολεμίων.

lessening their glory and reputation. This may be judged from the ostracism, which was instituted only as a curb on those whose merit and popularity ran too high, and which spared neither the greatest nor the most worthy persons. The hatred of tyranny and tyrants, which was in a manner innate in the Athenians, made them extremely jealous and apprehensive for their liberty with regard to those who governed.

As to what relates to their enemies, they did not treat them with rigour; they did not make an insolent use of victory, nor exercise any cruelty towards the vanquished. The amnesty decreed after the tyranny of the Thirty, shows that they could forget the injuries which they had undergone from them.

To these different characteristics, which Plutarch unites in the same passage of his works, some others may be added, extracted principally from the same author.

VI. It was from this * fund of humanity and benevolence, of which I have now spoken, and which was natural to the Athenians, that they were so attentive to the rules of politeness, and so delicate in point of decorum; qualities one would not expect to find among the common people. [q] In the war against Philip of Macedon, having intercepted one of his couriers, they read all the letters he carried, except that from Olympias his wife, which they returned sealed up and unopened, out of regard to conjugal love and secrecy, the rights of which are sacred, and ought to be respected even amongst enemies. The same Athenians having decreed that a strict search should be made after the presents distributed by Harpalus amongst the orators, would not suffer the house of Callicles,

[q] Plut. in Demetr. p. 898.

* Πάτριον αὐτοῖς καὶ σύμφυτον ἦν τὸ φιλάνθρωπον. In Pelop. p. 280.

who was lately married, to be visited, out of respect for his bride, not long brought home. Such behaviour is not very common; and upon like occasions people do not always stand upon forms and politeness.

VII. The taste of the Athenians for all arts and sciences is too well known to require dwelling long upon it in this place. But we cannot see, without admiration, a people, composed for the most part, as I have said before, of artisans, husbandmen, soldiers, and mariners, carry delicacy of taste in every kind to so high a degree of perfection, which seems the peculiar attribute of a more exalted condition and a nobler education.

VIII. It is no less wonderful, that this people * should have had such great views, and risen so high in their pretensions. In the war which Alcibiades made them undertake, filled with vast projects and unbounded hopes, they did not confine themselves to the taking of Syracuse or the conquest of Sicily, but had already grasped Italy, Peloponnesus, Libya, the Carthaginian states, and the empire of the sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules. Their enterprise failed, but they had formed it; and the taking of Syracuse, which seemed no great difficulty, might have enabled them to put it in execution.

IX. The same people, so great, and, one may say, so haughty in their projects, had nothing of that character in other respects. In what regarded the expence of the table, dress, furniture, private buildings, and, in a word, private life, they were frugal, simple, modest, and poor; but sumptuous and magnificent in every thing public and capable of doing honour to the state. Their victories, conquests, wealth, and continual communication with the people of Asia Minor, introduced neither luxury, gluttony, pomp, nor vain profusion amongst them.

* Μέγα φρονεῖ, μεγάλων ὀρέγεται. Plut.

[r] Xenophon observes, that a citizen could not be distinguished from a slave by his dress. The richest inhabitants, and the most famous generals, were not ashamed to go to market themselves.

X. It was very glorious for Athens to have produced and formed so many persons who excelled in the arts of war and government; in philosophy, eloquence, poesy, painting, sculpture, and architecture: to have furnished alone more great men in every department than any other city of the world; if, perhaps, we except Rome, which * had imbibed her information from Athens, and knew how to apply her lessons to the best advantage: to have been in some sort the school, and tutor of almost the whole universe: to have served, and still continue to serve, as the model for all nations which pique themselves most upon their fine taste: in a word, to have set the fashion and prescribed the laws of all that regards the talents and productions of the mind.

XI. I shall conclude this description of the Athenians with one more attribute which cannot be denied them, and appears evidently in all their actions and enterprises; and that is, their ardent love of liberty. This was their darling passion, and the main-spring of their policy. We see them, from the commencement of the war with the Persians, sacrifice every thing to the liberty of Greece. They abandon without the least hesitation, their lands, estates, city, and houses, and remove to their ships in order to fight the common enemy, whose view was to enslave them. What day could be more glorious for Athens, than that in which, when all the allies were trembling at the vast offers made her

[r] De Rep. Athen. p. 693.

* *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes*
Intulit agresti Latio. Horat. Epist. l. 1. 2.

Greece taken, took her savage victors' hearts,
And polished rustic Latium with her arts.

by the king of Persia, she answered his ambassador by the mouth of [s]Aristides, That all the gold and silver in the world was not capable of tempting them to sell their own liberty or that of Greece. It was from such generous sentiments that the Athenians not only became the bulwark of Greece, but preserved the rest of Europe, and all the western world, from the invasion of the Persians.

These great qualities were mingled with great defects, often the very reverse of them, such as we may imagine in a fluctuating, light, inconstant, capricious people, as were the Athenians.

SECT. VI. *Common character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

I CANNOT refuse giving a place here to what M. Bossuet says upon the character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The passage is long, but will not appear so; and will include all that is wanting to a perfect knowledge of the genius of both those states.

Amongst all the republics of which Greece was composed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the principal. No people could have more wit than the Athenians, nor more solid sense than the Lacedæmonians. Athens affected pleasure; the Lacedæmonian way of life was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty; but liberty at Athens tended to licentiousness: and, controlled by severe laws at Lacedæmon, the more restrained it was at home, the more ardent it was to extend itself by ruling abroad. Athens wished also to reign, but upon another principle in which interest had a share with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art

[s] Plut. in Aristid. p. 312.

of navigation, and her sovereignty at sea had enriched her. To continue in the sole possession of all commerce, there was nothing she was not desirous of subjecting to her power; and her riches, which inspired this desire, supplied her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedæmon money was in contempt. As all the laws tended to make the latter a military republic, martial glory was the sole object that engrossed the minds of her citizens. From thence she naturally affected dominion; and the more she was above interest, the more she abandoned herself to ambition.

Lacedæmon, from her regular life, was steady and determinate in her maxims and measures. Athens was more lively and active, and the people too much masters. Philosophy and the laws had indeed the most happy effects upon such exquisite natural parts as theirs; but reason alone was not capable of keeping them within due bounds. 'A wise Athenian, who knew admirably the genius of his country, informs us, that fear was necessary to those too ardent and free spirits; and that it was impossible to govern them, after that the victory at Salamis had removed their fears of the Persians.

Two things, then, ruined them; the glory of their great actions, and the supposed security of their present condition. The magistrates were no longer heard; and as Persia was afflicted with excessive slavery, so Athens, says Plato, experienced all the evils of excessive liberty.

Those two great republics, so contrary in their manners and conduct, interfered with each other in the design they had each formed of subjecting all Greece; so that they were always enemies, still more from the contrariety of their interests than from the incompatibility of their humours.

The Grecian cities were unwilling to submit to the dominion of either the one or the other; for,

[1] Plat. l. iii. de leg.

besides that each was desirous of preserving their liberty, they found the empire of those two republics too grievous to bear. That of the Lacedæmonians was severe. That people were observed to have something almost brutal in their character. [u] A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers too haughty, austere, and imperious in power: besides which, they could never expect to live in peace under the influence of a city, which being formed for war, could not support itself, but by continuing perpetually in arms. [x] So that the Lacedæmonians were desirous of attaining to command, and all the world were afraid they should do so.

[y] The Athenians were naturally more mild and agreeable. Nothing was more delightful to behold than their city, in which feasts and games were perpetual; where wit, liberty, and the various passions of men, daily exhibited new objects: but the inequality of their conduct disgusted their allies, and was still more insupportable to their own subjects. It was impossible for them not to experience the extravagance and caprice of a flattered people; that is to say, according to Plato, something more dangerous than the same excesses in a prince vitiated by flattery.

These two cities did not permit Greece to continue in repose. We have seen the Peloponnesian and other wars, which were always occasioned, or fomented, by the jealousy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But the same jealousies which involved Greece in troubles, supported it in some measure, and prevented its falling into dependence upon either the one or the other of those republics.

The Persians soon perceived this condition of Greece; and accordingly the whole mystery of their politics consisted in keeping up those jealousies, and

[u] Aristot. Polit. l. i. p. 4.
[x] Xenoph. de Rep. Lacon.
[y] Plat. de Rep. l. viii.

fomenting those divisions. Lacedæmon, which was the most ambitious, was the first that gave them occasion to take a part in the quarrels of the Greeks. They engaged in them from the sole view of making themselves masters of the whole nation; and, industrious to weaken the Greeks by their own arms, they waited only the opportunity to crush them altogether. [z] The states of Greece, in their wars, already regarded only the king of Persia, whom they called the Great King, or *the king*, by way of eminence, as if they had already reckoned themselves among the number of his subjects. But it was impossible that the ancient spirit of Greece should not revive, when they were upon the point of falling into slavery, and the hands of the barbarians.

The petty kings of Greece undertook to oppose this great king, and to ruin his empire. [a] With a small army, but bred in the discipline we have related, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, made the Persians tremble in Asia Minor, and showed it was not impossible to subvert their power. The divisions of Greece alone put a stop to his conquests. The famous retreat of the ten thousand, who, after the death of the younger Cyrus, in spite of the victorious troops of Artaxerxes, made their way in a hostile manner through the whole Persian empire, and returned into their own country; that action, I say, demonstrated to Greece more than ever, that their soldiery was invincible, and superior to all opposers; and that only their domestic divisions could subject them to an enemy too weak to resist their forces when united.

We shall see, in the series of this history, by what methods Philip, king of Macedon, taking advantage of these divisions, succeeded at length, partly by address and partly by force, in making himself little less than the sovereign of Greece, and

[z] Plat. l. iii. de leg. Isocrat. Panegyr. [a] Polyb. l. iii.

by what means he obliged the whole nation to march under his colours against the common enemy. What he had only planned, his son Alexander brought to perfection; and showed to the wondering world, how much ability and valour avail against the most numerous armies and the most formidable preparations.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

THE HISTORY OF DIONYSIUS THE ELDER AND YOUNGER, TYRANTS OF SYRACUSE.

SIXTY years had elapsed since Syracuse had regained its liberty by the expulsion of the family of Gelon. The events which passed during that interval in Sicily, except the invasion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but those which follow are highly interesting, and make amends for the chasm: I mean the reigns of Dionysius the father and son, tyrants of Syracuse; the first of whom governed thirty-eight years, and the *other twelve, in all fifty years. As this history is entirely unconnected with what passed in Greece at the same time, I shall relate it in this place altogether, and by itself; observing only, that the first

* After having been expelled for more than ten years, he re-ascended the throne, and reigned two or three years.

twenty years of it, upon which I am now entering, agree almost in point of time with the last twenty of the preceding volume.

This history will present to our view a series of the most odious and horrid crimes, though it abounds at the same time with instruction. When *on the one side we behold a prince, the declared enemy of liberty, justice, and laws, treading under his feet the most sacred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the most cruel torments upon his subjects, beheading some, burning others for a slight word, delighting and feasting himself with human blood, and gratifying his inhuman cruelty with the sufferings and miseries of every age and condition: I say, when we behold such an object, can we deny a truth, which the Pagan world itself hath confessed, and which Plutarch takes occasion to observe in speaking of the tyrants of Sicily: That God in his anger gives such princes to a people, and makes use of the impious and the wicked to punish the guilty and the criminal. On the other side, when the same prince, the dread and terror of Syracuse, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and abandoned by day and night to remorse and regret, can find no person in his whole state, not even his wives and children, in whom he can confide; who will not exclaim with Tacitus,† *That it is not without reason the oracle of wisdom has declared, That if the hearts of tyrants could be seen, we should find them torn in pieces with a thousand evils; it being certain, that the body does not suffer more*

* *Erit Dionysius illic tyrannus, libertatis, justitiæ, legum exitium—Alios uret, alios verberabit, alios ob levem offensam jubebit detruncari.* Senec. de Consol. ad Marc. c. xvii.

Sanguine humano non tantùm gaudet, sed pascitur; sed et suppliciis omnium ætatum crudelitatem insatiabilem explet. Id. de Benef. l. vii. c. 19.

† *Neque frustrà præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitiâ, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceraretur.* Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 6.

from stripes and torments, than the minds of such wretches from their crimes, cruelties, and the injustice and violence of their proceedings.

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them; he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himself, and lives amidst his subjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the sword of justice is in his hands, he dreads to make use of it. He loves to turn aside its edge, and can never resolve to evince his power, but with extreme reluctance, in the last extremity, and with all the forms and sanction of the laws.* But a tyrant punishes only from caprice and passion; and believes, says Plutarch, speaking of Dionysius, that he is not really master,† and does not act with supreme authority, but in proportion as he sets himself above all laws, acknowledges no other than his own will and pleasure, and sees himself obeyed implicitly. Whereas, continues the same author, he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of willing what he ought not.

Besides these characteristics of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly distinguish the first Dionysius, we shall see in his history, whatever unbounded ambition, sustained by great valour, extensive abilities, and talents qualified for acquiring the confidence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of sovereignty; the various means which he had the address to employ for maintaining himself in it against the opposition of his enemies, and the odium of the public; and lastly, the tyrant's

* *Hæc est in maximâ potestate verissima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliquâ non temeritate incendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in cives suos liceat, experiendo tentare; sed hebetare aciem imperii sui.—Quid interest inter tyrannum et regem, (species enim ipsa fortunæ ac licentia par est) nisi quòd tyranni in voluptate sæviunt, reges non nisi ex causâ et necessitate?* Senec. de Clem. lib. i. c. 11.

† Ἔφη ἀπολάυειν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅταν ῥαχέως ἃ βάλεται ποιῇ· μέγας ἂν ὁ κίνδυνος βέλεσθαι ἃ μὴ δεῖ, τὸν ἃ βέλεται ποιεῖν δυνάμενον. Ad Princ. indoct. p. 782.

good fortune in escaping, during a reign of thirty-eight years, the many conspiracies formed against him, and in transmitting peaceably the tyranny to his son, as a legitimate possession, and an hereditary right.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. *Means made use of by Dionysius the elder, to possess himself of the tyranny.*

[b] DIONYSIUS was a native of Syracuse, of noble and illustrious extraction according to some, but others say his birth was base and obscure. Be this as it may, he distinguished himself by his valour, and acquired great reputation, in the war with the Carthaginians. He was one of those who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re-enter Syracuse by force of arms, after having been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. The event of that enterprise was not fortunate. Hermocrates was killed. The Syracusans did not spare his accomplices, several of whom were publicly executed. Dionysius was left amongst the wounded. The report of his death, designedly given out by his relations, saved his life. Providence would have spared Syracuse an infinity of misfortunes, had he expired either in the field or by the executioner.

The Carthaginians had made several attempts to establish themselves in Sicily, and to possess themselves of the principal cities there, as we have observed elsewhere.[c] The happy situation of that island for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its soil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to such an enterprise. We may

[b] Diod. l. xiii. p. 197.

[c] In the History of the Carthaginians, Vol. I.

form an idea of the wealth of some of its cities from Diodorus Siculus's account of Agrigentum. [d] The temples were of extraordinary magnificence, especially that of Jupiter Olympius, which was three hundred and forty feet in length, sixty in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. The piazzas, or galleries, in extent and beauty, corresponded with the rest of the building. On one side was represented the battle of the giants, on the other the taking of Troy, in figures as large as the life. Without the city was an artificial lake, which was seven stadia (above a quarter of a league) in circumference, and thirty feet in depth. It was full of all kinds of fish, covered with swans and other water-fowls, and afforded the most agreeable prospect imaginable. ...

It was about the time of which we speak, that Exenetus, victor in the Olympic games, entered the city in triumph in a magnificent chariot, attended by three hundred more, all drawn by white horses. Their habits glittered with gold and silver; and nothing was ever more splendid than their appearance. Gellias, the most wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, had erected several large apartments in his house for the reception and entertainment of his guests. Servants waited by his order at the gates of the city, to invite all strangers to lodge at their master's house, whither they conducted them. Hospitality was much practised and esteemed by the generality of that city. A violent storm having obliged five hundred horsemen to take shelter there, Gellias entertained them all in his house, and supplied them immediately with dry clothes, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is understanding how to make a noble use of riches. His cellar is much talked of by historians, in which he had three hundred reservoirs

[d] Diod. lib. xiii. p. 203, 206.

hewn out of the rock, each of which contained a hundred amphoræ.*

A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 406. This great and opulent city was besieged, and at length taken, by the Carthaginians. Its fall shook all Sicily, and spread an universal terror. The cause of its being lost was imputed to the Syracusans, who had but weakly succoured it. Dionysius, who even then was engrossed solely by the thoughts of his grand designs, and who was engaged, though secretly, in laying the foundations of his future power, took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general complaints of Sicily against the Syracusans, to render the magistrates odious, and to exclaim against their administration. In a public assembly, held to consider of the present state of affairs, when nobody dared to open their mouths for fear of incurring the displeasure of the persons at the helm, Dionysius rose up, and boldly accused the magistrates of treason; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought to be deposed immediately, without waiting till the term of their administration should expire. They retorted this audacity by treating him as a seditious person, and a disturber of the public tranquillity, and as such, laid a fine upon him according to the laws. This was to be paid before he could be admitted to speak again, and Dionysius was not in a condition to discharge it. Philistus, one of the richest citizens, (who wrote the history of Sicily, which is not come down to us,) deposited the money, and exhorted him at the same time to give his opinion upon the state of affairs with all the liberty which became a citizen zealous for his country.

Dionysius accordingly resumed his discourse with more vigour than before. He had long cultivated the habit of eloquence, which he looked upon with reason as a talent very necessary in a

* An amphora contained about seven gallons; a hundred consequently consisted of seven hundred gallons, or eleven hogsheads seven gallons.

republican government; especially with relation to his views of acquiring the people's favour, and of conciliating them to his measures. He began with describing in a lively and pathetic manner the ruin of Agrigentum, a neighbouring city, and one in their alliance; the deplorable extremity to which the inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting the place under cover of the night; the cries and lamentations of infants, and of aged and sick persons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a ferocious and merciless enemy; and the cruel murder of all who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous victor dragged from the temples and altars of the gods, a feeble asylum against the Carthaginian fury and impiety. He imputed all these evils to the treachery of the commanders of the army, who, instead of marching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated with their troops; to the criminal remissness and delay of the magistrates, who had suffered themselves to be corrupted by Carthaginian bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who thought only of establishing their own power upon the ruins of their country's liberty. He represented Syracuse as composed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, usurping all the dignities and wealth of the state; the other, obscure, despised, and trampled under foot, bearing the sad yoke of a shameful servitude, and rather slaves than citizens. He concluded with saying, that the only remedy for so many evils was to elect persons from amongst the people, devoted to their interests, and who, not being capable of rendering themselves formidable by their riches and authority, would be solely employed for the public good, and apply in earnest to the re-establishment of liberty in Syracuse.

This discourse was listened to with infinite pleasure, as all speeches are which flatter the natural propensity of inferiors to complain of the government, and was followed with the universal applause of the people, who always give themselves up

blindly to those who know how to deceive them under the specious pretext of serving their interest. All the magistrates were deposed upon the spot, and others substituted in their room, with Dionysius at the head of them.

This was only the first step to the tyranny, and he did not stop here. The success of his undertaking inspired him with new courage and confidence. He had also in view the displacing of the generals of the army, and having their power transferred to himself. The design was bold and dangerous, and he set about it with address. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries against them at a distance; calumniating them by his emissaries among the people, and sparing no pains to render them suspected. He caused it to be whispered amongst the populace, that those commanders held secret intelligence with the enemy; that couriers in disguise were frequently seen passing and re-passing; and that it was not to be doubted, but some conspiracy was on foot. He affected on his side not to see those leaders, nor to open himself to them at all upon the affairs of the public. He communicated none of his designs to them, as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having any intercourse or correspondence with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not at a loss to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they silent upon the occasion; but the common people, prejudiced in his favour, incessantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the sole protector and asserter of their rights and liberties.

Another scheme, which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and exceedingly promoted his designs. There was a great number of banished persons dispersed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuse had expelled the city at different times and upon different pretences. He knew what an

addition of strength so numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to their benefactor, and resentment against those who had occasioned their banishment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of their enemies, would render well calculated for the execution of his designs, and attach them unalterably to his person and interest. He applied therefore earnestly to obtain their recall. It was given out that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people foresaw with anxiety the expence to which the new levies would amount. Dionysius took advantage of this favourable conjuncture and disposition of the public mind. He represented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expence from Italy and the Peloponnesus, whilst their own country would supply them with excellent soldiers, without being at any charge at all: that there were numbers of Syracusans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles: that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chosen rather to wander about Sicily without support or settlement, than to enrol themselves in the armies of the enemy, however advantageous the offers to induce them to it had been. This discourse of Dionysius had all the effect upon the people he could have wished. His colleagues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the people against them, and even augment the reputation of Dionysius, to whom it would leave the whole honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuse without losing time.

A deputation from Gela, a city dependent on

Syracuse, arrived about the same time, to demand that the garrison should be reinforced. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot and four hundred horse. He found the city in a great commotion, and divided into two factions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the assembly to die, and to have their estates confiscated for the use of the public. This confiscation was applied to pay off the arrears which had long been due to the former garrison, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionysius promised the troops he had brought with him from Syracuse to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching so many new creatures to himself. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the highest marks of honour, and sent deputies to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending Dionysius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his measures, he returned with his troops to Syracuse, after having promised the inhabitants of Gela, who used all means in their power to keep him amongst them, that he would soon return with more considerable aid.

He arrived at Syracuse just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him, enquiring with earnestness what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city nourished far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her own bosom: that whilst Carthage was making extraordinary preparations for the invasion of Syracuse, those who were in command, instead of rousing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and setting every thing at work against the approach of so potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amusements and idle shows, and suffered the troops to want necessaries; converting their pay to their private uses in a fraudulent

manner, which was destructive to the public affairs: that he had always sufficiently comprehended the cause of such a conduct; that however it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, that his complaints were founded: that Imilco, the general of the Carthaginians, had sent an officer to him, under pretext of treating about the ransom of prisoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too strict in examining into the conduct of his colleagues; and that if he would not enter into the measures of Carthage, at least that he would not oppose them: that for his part, he came to resign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might leave no room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence, with traitors who sold the commonwealth.

This discourse being rumoured amongst the troops and about the city, occasioned great inquietude and alarm. The next day the assembly was summoned, and Dionysius renewed his complaints against the generals, which were received with universal applause. Some of the assembly cried out, that it was necessary immediately to appoint him generalissimo, with unlimited power, and that it would be too late to have recourse to so salutary a measure when the enemy was at the gates of Syracuse: that the importance of the war with which they were threatened required such a leader: that it was in the same manner formerly, that Gelon, when elected generalissimo, had defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which consisted of three hundred thousand men: that as for the accusation alleged against the traitors, it might be referred to another day, but that the present affair would admit no delay. Nor was it in fact delayed; for the people, (who, when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion without examining any thing,) elected Dionysius generalissimo with unlimited power that instant. In the same assembly he caused it to be decreed, that the soldiers' pay should be doubled; insinuating

that the state would be amply reimbursed by the conquests which would be the consequence of that advance. This being done, and the assembly dismissed, the Syracusans, upon cool reflection on what had passed, began to be in some consternation; as if it had not been the effect of their own choice: and comprehended, though too late, that from the desire of preserving their liberty, they had given themselves a master.

Dionysius rightly judged the importance of taking his measures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one step more to the tyranny, which was to have a body of guards assigned him; and that he accomplished in the most artful and politic manner. He proposed that all the citizens under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, should march with provisions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. The Syracusans were at that time in possession of the place, and had a garrison in it. It was full of fugitive and foreign soldiers, who were very fit persons for the execution of his designs. He justly suspected, that the greatest part of the Syracusans would not follow him. He set out however, and arriving in the night, encamped upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noise was heard throughout the whole camp. This tumult was raised by persons planted for that purpose by Dionysius. He affected to believe that ambuscades had been laid with design to assassinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great number of fires to be lighted, and drawn around him such of the troops as he most confided in. At break of day the people assembled in a body, to whom, expressing still great apprehension, he explained the danger he had been in, and demanded permission to choose himself a guard of six hundred men for the security of his person. Pisistratus had set him the example long be-

fore, and had used the same stratagem when he made himself tyrant of Athens. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose out a thousand men for his guard upon the spot, armed them completely, equipped them magnificently, and made them great promises for their encouragement. He also attached the foreign soldiers to his interest in a peculiar manner, by speaking to them with great freedom and affability. He made many removals and alterations in the troops, to secure the officers in his interest; and dismissed Dexippus to Sparta, as he distrusted him. At the same time he ordered a great part of the garrison, which he had sent to Gela, to join him, and assembled from all parts fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals; a train worthy of a tyrant.

With this escort he returned to Syracuse, that trembled at his approach. The people were no longer in a condition to oppose his undertakings, or to dispute his authority. The city was full of foreign soldiers, and saw itself upon the point of being attacked by the Carthaginians. To strengthen himself the more in the tyranny, he espoused the daughter of Hermocrates, the most powerful citizen of Syracuse, and who had contributed the most to the defeat of the Athenians. He also gave his sister in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Hermocrates. He afterwards summoned an assembly, in which he rid himself of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the most active in opposing his usurpation. In this manner Dionysius, from a simple notary and a citizen of the lowest class, made himself absolute lord and tyrant of the greatest and most opulent city of Sicily.

SECT. II. *Commotions in Sicily and at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to dispel them. To prevent revolts he proposes to attack the Carthaginians. His wonderful application and success in making preparations for the war. Plato comes to Syracuse. His intimacy and friendship with Dion.*

[a] DIONYSIUS had a rude shock to sustain in the beginning of his usurpation. The Carthaginians having besieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and after some unsuccessful endeavours against the enemy, threw himself into the place. He behaved there with little vigour, and all the service he did the inhabitants was to make them abandon their city in the night, and to cover their flight in person. He was suspected of acting in concert with the enemy, and the more, because they did not pursue him, and that he lost very few of his foreign soldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela were butchered. Those of Camarina, to avoid the same fate, followed their example, and withdrew with all the effects they could carry away. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, struck Dionysius's troops with compassion, and incensed them against the tyrant. Those he had raised in Italy withdrew to their own country; and the Syracusan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march, from his being surrounded with his foreigners, pushed forwards, and having entered Syracuse, went directly to his palace, which they plundered, using his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill-treatment that she died of it soon after. Dionysius, who had foreseen their design, followed them close

[a] Diod. l. xiii. p. 227, 231.

with only a hundred horse and four hundred foot; and having made a forced march of almost twenty leagues,[f] he arrived at midnight at the gate of Achradina, which he found shut against him. He set fire to it, and thus opened himself a passage. The richest of the citizens ran thither to dispute his entrance, but were surrounded by the soldiers, and almost all of them killed. Dionysius having entered the city, put all to the sword that came in his way, plundered the houses of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced the rest to leave Syracuse. The next morning the whole body of his troops arrived. The unhappy fugitives of Gela and Camarina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leontines. Imilco having sent a herald to Syracuse, the treaty was concluded which has been mentioned in the history of the Carthaginians.[g] By one of the articles it was stipulated, that Syracuse should continue under the government of Dionysius; which confirmed all the suspicions that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died.

It was then he sacrificed to his repose and security every thing that could give him umbrage. He knew that after having deprived the Syracusans of all that was most dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their utmost hatred; and the fear of the miseries he had to expect from it, increased in the usurper in proportion to their abhorrence of him. He looked upon all his new subjects as so many enemies; and believed that he could guard against the dangers which surrounded him on all sides, and dogged him in all places, only by cutting off one part of the people, to intimidate the other. He did not perceive, that by adding the cruelty of executions to the oppression of the public, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loss of their liberty, to preserve at least their own lives by attempts upon his. A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

[f] Four hundred stadia.

[g] Vol. I.

[1] Dionysius, who foresaw that the Syracusans would not fail to take advantage of the repose, in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them, to attempt the re-establishment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side to strengthen his power. He fortified the part of the city called the Isle, which was already very strong from the nature of its situation, and might be defended by a moderate garrison. He surrounded it with good walls, flanked at due distances with high towers, and separated it in that manner from the rest of the city. To these works he added a strong citadel, to serve him for a retreat and refuge in case of accident; and caused a great number of shops and piazzas to be erected, capable of containing a considerable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he chose out the best of them, which he bestowed upon his creatures and the officers of his appointing, and distributed the rest in equal proportion amongst the citizens and strangers, including amongst the former the slaves who had been made free. He divided the houses in the same manner, reserving those in the Isle for such of the citizens as he could most confide in, and for his strangers.

After having taken these precautions for his security, he began to think of subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the siege of Herbessus. The Syracusans in his army, seeing their swords in their hands, thought it their duty to use them for the re establishment of their liberty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert their measures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them in harsh terms, was killed upon the spot, and his death served as a signal for their revolt. They sent immediately to Ætna for the horse who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Diony-

[1] Diod. p. 238, 241.

sius, alarmed at this motion, raised the siege, and marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience. The revolters followed him close, and having seized upon the suburb Epipolæ, barred him from all communication with the country. Having received aid from their allies both by sea and land, they set a price upon the tyrant's head, and promised the freedom of the city to such of the strangers as should abandon him. A great number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmost favour and humanity. They made their machines advance, and battered the walls of the Isle vigorously, without giving Dionysius the least respite.

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut up on the side of the country, assembled his friends to consult with them, rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his career, than upon the means of saving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revolters, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents; which was granted, and five ships were allowed him to transport his followers and effects. He had, however, sent dispatches secretly to the Campanians, who garrisoned the places in the possession of the Carthaginians, with offers of considerable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracusans, who, after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had disarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians, to the number of twelve hundred horse, infinitely surprised and alarmed the city. After having beaten such as disputed their passage, they opened themselves a

way to Dionysius. At the same time, three hundred soldiers more arrived to his assistance. The face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection now were transferred to the Syracusans. Dionysius, in a sally, drove the Syracusans vigorously as far as that part of the city called Neapolis. The slaughter was not very considerable, because he had given orders to spare those that fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to Ætna to understand, that they might return with entire security, promising entirely to forget the past. Many came to Syracuse, but others did not think it adviseable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their satisfaction, and dismissed.

The Lacedæmonians at this time took such measures in regard to Syracuse as were most unworthy of the Spartan name. They had lately subverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publicly, in all the cities dependent upon them, against popular government. They deputed one of their citizens to Syracuse, ostensibly to express the interest they took in the misfortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid; but, in reality, to confirm Dionysius in his resolution of supporting himself in the tyranny; expecting, that from the increase of his power he would prove of great advantage and support to their own.

Dionysius saw, from what had so lately happened at Syracuse, what he was to expect from the people for the future. Whilst the inhabitants were employed abroad in gathering in their harvest, he entered their houses, and seized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards enclosed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out abundance of ships, armed great numbers of strangers, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the disaffection of the Syracusans.

After having made this provision for his safety at

home, he prepared to extend his conquests abroad; from whence he proposed to himself not merely the increase of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his subjects from feeling the loss of their liberty, by turning their attention towards their ancient and always abhorred enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions, and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He relied also on acquiring by this means the affection of his troops, and on securing the esteem of the people by the grandeur and success of his enterprises.

Dionysius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by force or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, and some [k] other towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, which for that reason were very convenient for his purposes. Some of them he treated with favour and clemency, to engage the esteem and confidence of the people: others he plundered, to strike terror into the country. The inhabitants of Leontium were transplanted to Syracuse.

These conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, which saw themselves threatened with the same misfortune. Rhegium, situate upon the opposite coast of the strait which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it; and entered into an alliance with the Syracusan exiles, who were very numerous, and induced the Messenians, on the Sicilian side of the strait, to aid them with a powerful supply. They had levied a considerable army, and were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, when discord arose amongst the troops, and rendered the enterprise abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionysius and the two cities.

He had long revolved a great design in his mind—to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily,

[k] Etna. Enna.

which was a great obstacle to his own, as his discontented subjects never failed of finding a secure refuge in the towns dependent upon that nation. The occurrence of a plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminished its strength, seemed to supply a favourable opportunity for the execution of his design. But, as a man of ability, he knew that the greatness of the preparations ought to correspond with that of an enterprise, to assure the success of it; and he took his measures in a manner which shows the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore used uncommon pains and application; conscious that the war, into which he was going to enter with one of the most powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and be attended with consequences of the utmost importance.

A. M. 3605. Ant. J. C. 399. His first care was to bring to Syracuse, as well from the conquered cities in Sicily as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artisans and workmen of all kinds, whom he induced to come thither by the lure of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging the most skilful persons in every profession. He caused an infinite number of arms of all kinds to be forged; swords, javelins, lances, partisans, helmets, cuirasses, bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built also a great number of galleys that had from three to five benches of rowers, and were an entirely new invention, with abundance of barks and other vessels for the transportation of troops and provisions.

The whole city seemed but one workshop, and continually resounded with the noise of the several artisans. Not only the porches of the temples, the piazzas, porticos, places of exercise, and public squares, but even private houses of any extent were full of workmen. Dionysius had distributed them with admirable order. Each species of artists, divided by streets and districts, had their overseers and inspectors, who by their presence and direc-

tion promoted and completed the works. Dionysius himself was perpetually amongst the workmen, stimulating and encouraging them by praise, and rewards in proportion to their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according as they distinguished themselves by their ingenuity or industry. He would even make some of them dine with him at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindness of a friend. * It is justly said, that honour nourishes the arts and sciences, and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory. The prince who knows how to put the two great springs and strongest incentives of the human soul, interest and glory, in motion under proper regulations, will soon make all arts and sciences flourish in his kingdom, and fill it at a small expence with persons who excel in every profession. And this happened now at Syracuse, where a single person, of great ability in the art of governing, excited such ardour and emulation amongst the artificers as it is not easy to imagine or describe.

Dionysius applied himself more particularly to naval affairs. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building galleys with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious of acquiring for Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that invention to perfection; which he effected. The timber for building his galleys was brought, part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and from thence shipped to Syracuse; and part from mount Ætna, which at that time produced abundance of pine and fir-trees. In a short time, a fleet of two hundred galleys was seen to rise, as it were, all at once out of the earth; and a hundred others formerly built were refitted by his order: he caused also a hundred and sixty sheds to be erected within the great

* *Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriæ.* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 4.

port, each of them capable of containing two galleys, and a hundred and fifty more to be repaired.

The sight of such a fleet, built in so short a time, and fitted out with so much magnificence, would have given reason to believe that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accomplishing so great and expensive a work. On the other side, the view of such an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think that Dionysius had solely employed himself in providing them, and had exhausted his treasures in the expence. They consisted of one hundred and forty thousand shields, and as many helmets and swords; and upwards of fourteen thousand cuirasses, finished with all the art and elegance imaginable. They were intended for the horse, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign troops who had the guard of his person. Darts, arrows, and lances, were innumerable; and engines and machines of war in proportion to the rest of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and strangers. Dionysius did not think of raising troops till all his preparations were complete. Syracuse and the cities in its dependence supplied him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, and especially from Sparta. The considerable pay he offered brought soldiers in crowds from all parts to enlist in his service.

He omitted none of the precautions necessary to ensure the success of his enterprise; the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that every thing depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for their general, and applied himself particularly to gain the hearts, not of his own subjects only, but of all the inhabitants of Sicily, and was wonderfully successful in his attempts. He had entirely changed his behaviour for some time. Kindness, courtesy, clemency, a disposition to do good, and an obliging and insinuating deportment to all, had taken place of that haughty

and imperious air, and inhumanity, which had rendered him so odious. He was so entirely altered, that he did not seem to be the same man.

Whilst he was hastening his preparations for war, and studying to attain his subjects' affections, he meditated an alliance with two powerful cities, Rhegium and Messina, which were capable of disconcerting his great designs by a formidable diversion. The league formed against him by those cities some time before, though without any effect, gave him some uneasiness. He therefore thought it necessary to make sure of the amity of them both. He presented the inhabitants of Messina with a considerable quantity of land, which was situate in their neighbourhood, and lay very commodiously for them. To give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambassadors to desire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had lost his first wife in the popular commotion, of which mention has already been made.

Dionysius, sensible that nothing establishes a throne more effectually than the prospect of a successor, who may enter into the same designs, have the same interests, pursue the same plan, and observe the same maxims of government, took the opportunity of the present tranquillity of his affairs to contract a double marriage, in order to have a successor, to whom he might transfer the sovereignty which had cost him so many toils and dangers to acquire.

The people of Rhegium, to whom Dionysius had first applied, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, after a long debate came to a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their final answer returned, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The raillery was keen, and cut deep. We shall see in the sequel how dear that city paid for their jest.

The Locrians, to whom Dionysius sent the same ambassadors, did not show themselves so difficult

and delicate, but sent him for a wife Doris, the daughter of one of their most illustrious citizens. He caused her to be brought from Locris in a galley with five benches of rowers, of extraordinary magnificence, and glittering in every part with gold and silver. He married, at the same time, Aristomache, daughter of Hipparinus, the most considerable and powerful of the citizens of Syracuse, and sister of Dion, of whom much will be said hereafter. She was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was then a singular mark of distinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the same day with universal rejoicings throughout the whole city, and attended with feasts and presents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and universal custom of the western nations, from the earliest times, that he espoused two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing else, the liberty assumed by tyrants, of setting themselves above all laws.

Dionysius seemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preference to either, to remove all cause of jealousy and discord. The people of Syracuse reported that he preferred his own country-woman to the foreigner; but the latter had the good fortune first to bring her husband a son, which supported him not a little against the cabals and intrigues of the Syracusans. Aristomache was a long time without any symptoms of pregnancy; though Dionysius desired so earnestly have issue by her, that he put the mother of his Locrian wife to death, accusing her of hindering Aristomache from conceiving, by witchcraft and sorcery.

Aristomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, who was in great estimation with Dionysius. He was at first obliged for his credit to his sister's favour; but having afterwards given proofs of his great capacity in many instances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongst the other marks which Dionysius gave

him of his confidence, he ordered his treasurers to supply him, without farther orders, with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him the very same day what they had given him.

Dion had naturally a great and noble soul. A happy accident had conduced to inspire and confirm in him the most elevated sentiments. A kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch says, a peculiar providence, which laid at a distance the foundations of the liberty of Syracuse, brought Plato, the most celebrated of philosophers, to that city. Dion became his friend and disciple, and made great improvements from his lessons: for, though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the supreme good was made to consist in pleasure and magnificence, he had no sooner heard the precepts of his new master, and imbibed a taste of the philosophy that inculcates virtue, than his soul was inflamed with the love of it. Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him; that he had never met with a young man upon whom his discourses made so great an impression, or who had comprehended his principles with so much quickness and vivacity.

As Dion was young and inexperienced, observing the facility with which Plato had changed his taste and inclinations, he imagined, with simplicity enough, that the same reasons would have the same effects upon the mind of Dionysius; and with this view could not rest till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear and converse with him. Dionysius consented: but the lust of tyrannic power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be ever eradicated from it. It was* like an indelible dye, that had penetrated his inmost soul, from whence it was impossible ever to efface it.

[1]Though the stay of Plato at the court made no

[1] Plut. p. 960.

* Τὴν βαφὴν ἐκ ἄνίεντα τῆς τυραννίδος, ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δευσοποιὸν ἔσαν καὶ δυσέκπλυτον. Δρομαίας δὲ ἄνίας ἔτι δεῖ τῶν χρηστων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι λόγων. Plut. in Moral. p. 779.

alteration in Dionysius, the latter still continued to give Dion the same marks of his esteem and confidence, and even to endure, without taking offence, the freedom with which he spoke to him. Dionysius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuse, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the *laughing-stock*[m] of Sicily, the whole court greatly admired, and took no small pains to praise the quaintness and delicacy of the conceit, insipid and flat as it was, and, indeed, as puns and quibbles generally are. Dion took it in a serious sense, and was so bold as to represent to him that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince whose wise and equitable conduct had been the model of a perfect government, and given the Syracusans a favourable opinion of monarchical power. "You reign," added he, "and are trusted, for Gelon's sake; but for "your sake, no man will ever be trusted after "you." It was much that a tyrant should suffer himself to be talked to in such a manner with impunity.

SECT. III. *Dionysius declares war against the Carthaginians. Various success of it. Syracuse reduced to extremities, and soon after delivered. New commotions against Dionysius. Defeat of Imilco, and afterwards of Mago. Unhappy fate of the city of Rhegium.*

DIONYSIUS seeing his great preparations were now complete, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publicly opened his design to the Syracusans, in order to interest them the more in the success of the enterprise, and told them that it was his intention to make war against the Carthaginians. He represented that people as the perpetual and inveterate

[m] Γέλως signifies laughing-stock.

enemy of the Greeks, and especially of those who inhabited Sicily; that the plague, which had lately wasted Carthage, afforded a favourable opportunity, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in subjection to such severe masters, waited only the signal to declare against them; that it would be glorious for Syracuse to reinstate the Grecian cities in their liberty, after having so long groaned under the yoke of the barbarians; that, in declaring war at present against the Carthaginians, they only anticipated them by a short time; since, as soon as they had retrieved their losses, they would not fail to attack Syracuse with all their forces.

The assembly were unanimous in opinion. Their ancient and natural hatred of the barbarians; their anger and resentment against them for having given Syracuse a master; and the hope that with arms in their hands they might find some occasion of recovering their liberty, united them in their suffrages. The war was resolved without any opposition, and it began that very instant. There were at Syracuse, as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who, relying upon the faith of treaties and the peace, exercised traffic, and thought themselves in security. The populace, by Dionysius's authority, upon the breaking up of the assembly, ran to their houses and ships, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the same treatment throughout Sicily; and murders and massacres were added to this pillage, by way of reprisal for the many cruelties committed by the barbarians upon those they conquered, and to show them what they had to expect if they continued to make war with the same inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionysius sent a letter by a herald to Carthage, in which he signified that the Syracusans declared war against the Carthaginians, if they did not withdraw their garrisons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this letter, which took place A. M. 3607. Ant. J. C. 397.

first in the senate and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned an uncommon alarm, as the pestilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However, they were not dismayed, and prepared for a vigorous defence. They raised troops with the utmost diligence, and Imilco set out immediately to put himself at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionysius, on his side, lost no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increased by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It amounted to fourscore thousand foot and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred galleys, and five hundred barks laden with provisions and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, a fortified town belonging to the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little island something more than a quarter of a league[n] from the continent, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the besieged immediately cut through, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side.

Dionysius having left the care of the siege to Leptines, who commanded the fleet, went with his land-forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of so numerous an army, they all surrendered except five; which were Ancyra, Solos, [o] Palermo, Segesta, and Entella. The last two places he besieged.

Imilco, however, to make a diversion, detached ten galleys of his fleet, with orders to attack and surprise in the night all the vessels which remained in the port of Syracuse. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders, without meeting with resistance; and after having sunk a great part of the vessels which he found there, retired well satisfied with the success of his enterprise.

Dionysius, after having wasted the enemy's coun-

[n] Six stadia or furlongs. [o] Panormus.

try, returned, and sat down with his whole army before Motya: and having employed a great number of hands in making causeways and moles, he restored the neck of land, and brought forward his engines on that side. The place was attacked with the utmost vigour, and equally well defended. After the besiegers had passed the breach and entered the city, the besieged persisted a great while in defending themselves with incredible valour; so that it was necessary to pursue and drive them from house to house. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all before them to the sword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was spared, except those who had taken refuge in the temples. The town was abandoned to the soldiers' discretion; Dionysius being pleased with an occasion of attaching the troops to his service by the allurement and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raised an army of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. The fleet under Mago's command consisted of four hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred vessels laden with provisions and engines of war. Imilco had given the captains of the fleet his orders sealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at sea. He had taken this precaution, that his designs might be kept secret, and to prevent spies from sending information of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loss in their passage. Imilco took Eryx by treachery, and soon after compelled Motya to surrender. Messina seemed to him a place of importance; because it might favour the landing of troops from Italy in Sicily, and bar the passage of those that should come from Peloponnesus. After a long and vigorous defence it fell into his hands, and some time after he entirely demolished it.

Dionysius, seeing his forces extremely inferior to the enemy, retired to Syracuse. Almost all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning,

and were only reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this occasion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and gave the slaves their liberty, that they might serve on board the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and his fleet to a hundred and eighty galleys. With these forces he took the field, and removed about eight leagues from Syracuse. Imilco continued to advance with his land army, followed by his fleet, that kept near the coast. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march along the sea-side, and was obliged to take a long compass round mount Ætna, which, by a new eruption, had set the country about it on fire, and covered it with ashes. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming up at Catana. Dionysius, apprised of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilst separated from the land forces, and whilst his own, drawn up in battle upon the shore, might be of service to animate and support his fleet. The scheme was wisely concerted, but the success not answerable to it. Leptines his admiral, having advanced inconsiderately with thirty galleys, contrary to the opinion of Dionysius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces, at first sank several of the enemy's ships, but, upon being surrounded by the greater number, was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was warmly pursued by the Carthaginians. Mago detached boats full of soldiers, with orders to kill all that endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to shore. The land army drawn up there, saw them perish miserably, without being able to give them any assistance. The loss on the side of the Sicilians was very great, more than a hundred galleys being either taken or sunk, and twenty thousand men perishing either in the battle or the flight.

The Sicilians, who were afraid to shut themselves up in Syracuse, where they could not fail of being

besieged very soon, solicited Dionysius to lead them against Imilco, whom so bold an enterprise might disconcert; besides which, they should find his troops fatigued with their long and forced march. The proposal pleased him at first; but upon reflecting that Mago, with the victorious fleet, might in the mean time advance and take Syracuse, he thought it more adviseable to return thither; which was the occasion of his losing abundance of his troops, who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilco, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some days to refresh his army, and refit his fleet, which had suffered exceedingly by a violent storm.

[p] He then marched to Syracuse, and made his fleet enter the port in triumph. More than two hundred galleys, adorned with the spoils of the enemy, made a noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they observed in the motion of their oars. They were followed by an infinite number of smaller vessels; so that the port, vast as it was, was scarcely capable of containing them, the whole sea being in a manner covered with sails. At the same time on the other side appeared the land army, composed, as has been said, of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Imilco pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and the army encamped around, at somewhat more than half a league's [q] distance from the city. It is easy to judge the consternation and alarm with which such a prospect inspired the Syracusans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls to offer the Syracusans battle, and at the same time seized upon the two remaining * ports by a detachment of a hundred galleys. As he saw that the Syracusans did not make the least movement, he retired, content-

[p] Diod. p. 285, 296. [q] Twelve stadia.

* The little port and that of Trogilus.

ed for the present with the enemy's avowal of their weakness. For thirty days together he laid waste the country, cutting down all the trees, and destroying all before him. He then made himself master of the suburb called Achradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpine. Foreseeing that the siege might probably be of long duration, he intrenched his camp, and enclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all the tombs, and amongst others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was a most magnificent monument. He built three forts at some distance from each other; the first at Plemmyrium; the second towards the middle of the port; the third near the temple of Jupiter; in order to secure his magazines of corn and wine. He sent also a great number of small vessels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch provisions.

At the same time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionysius had dispatched at the beginning of the war into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and he brought with him a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Pharacides, a Lacedæmonian. This reinforcement came very seasonably, and gave the Syracusans new spirit. Upon seeing a bark laden with provisions for the enemy, they detached five galleys, and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail; the Syracusans advanced with their whole fleet, and in the battle made themselves masters of the admiral galley, damaged many others, took twenty-four, pursued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a second time, which the Carthaginians, discouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracusans, imboldened by so unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the galleys they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this success, which could be only ascribed to their valour, (for Dionysius was then absent with a small detachment of their fleet to procure

provisions, attended by Leptines,) they encouraged each other, and seeing themselves with arms in their hands, they reproached one another with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the shameful yoke of servitude, and resuming their ancient liberty.

Whilst they were in the midst of these discourses, dispersed in small parties, the tyrant arrived; and having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans upon their late victory, and promised in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to dismiss the assembly, when Theodorus, one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak, and to declare boldly for liberty. "We are told," said he, "of restoring "peace, terminating the war, and of being delivered "from the enemy. What signifies such language "from Dionysius? Can we consider as peace the "wretched state of slavery to which he has reduced "us? Have we any enemy more to be dreaded than "the tyrant who subverts our liberty, or a war more "cruel than that he has made upon us for so many "years? Let Imilco conquer, he will content him-"self with laying a tribute upon us, and leave us the "exercise of our laws; but the tyrant that enslaves "us, knows no other than his avarice, his cruelty, "his ambition! The temples of the gods robbed by "his sacrilegious hands, our goods made a prey, "and our lands abandoned to his instruments, our "persons daily exposed to the most shameful and "cruel treatment, the blood of so many citizens "shed in the midst of us and before our eyes; these "are the fruits of his reign, and the peace he obtains "for us! Was it for the support of our liberties "he built yon citadel? that he has enclosed it with "such strong walls and high towers, and has called "in for his guard that tribe of strangers and bar-"barians, who insult us with impunity? How "long, O Syracusans, shall we suffer such indig-

" nities, more insupportable to the brave and gene-
" rous than death itself? Bold and intrepid against
" the enemy abroad, shall we always tremble like
" cowards in the presence of a tyrant? Providence,
" which has again put arms into our hands, directs
" us what use to make of them! Sparta, and the
" other cities in our alliance, who glory in being free
" and independent, would deem us unworthy of
" the Grecian name if we had any other senti-
" ments. Let us show that we do not degenerate
" from our ancestors. If Dionysius consents to re-
" tire from amongst us, let us open him our gates,
" and let him take along with him whatever he
" pleases; but if he persists in the tyranny, let him
" experience what effects the love of liberty has
" upon the brave and resolute."

After this speech, all the Syracusans, in suspense betwixt hope and fear, looked earnestly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, rose up to speak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty; but he did quite the reverse: and told them, that his republic had sent him to aid the Syracusans and Dionysius against the Carthaginians, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or to subvert his authority. This answer confounded the Syracusans, and the tyrant's guard arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. Dionysius perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, used all his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people, and to attach the citizens to his interests; making presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occasions to treat them with kindness and familiarity.

It was probably about this time, that Polyxenus, Dionysius's brother-in-law, who had married his sister Thesta, having without doubt declared against him in this conspiracy, fled from Sicily for the preservation of his life, and to avoid falling into

[r] Plut. in Dion. p. 966.

the tyrant's hands. Dionysius sent for his sister, and bitterly reproached her for not apprising him of her husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expressing the least surprise or fear, "Have I then appeared "to you so bad a wife, and of so mean a soul, as to "have abandoned my husband in his flight, had I "been acquainted with his design, and not to have "desired to share in his dangers and misfortunes? "No! I knew nothing of it; or I should have been "much happier in being called in all places the "wife of Polyxenus the exile, than, in Syracuse, "the sister of the tyrant." Dionysius could not but admire an answer so full of spirit and generosity; and the Syracusans in general were so charmed with her virtue, that after the tyranny was suppressed, the same honours, equipage, and train of a queen, which she had before, were continued to her during her life; and after her death, the whole people attended her body to the tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary concourse.

On the side of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new appearance on a sudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in not taking advantage of the consternation which the sight of their fleet and army equally formidable had occasioned. At present the plague, which was looked upon as a punishment sent from heaven for their plundering of temples and demolishing of tombs, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time. I have described the extraordinary symptoms of it in the history of the Carthaginians.* To add to that misfortune, the Syracusans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by sea and land. The surprise, and terror, and even haste they were in, to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which side to send relief; all being

* Vol. I. p. 147.

equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, women, and children, ran in crowds to the walls, to be witnesses of that scene of horror, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for so signal a protection of their city. The slaughter within and without the camp, and on board the vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilco, reduced to despair, offered Dionysius secretly three hundred thousand crowns [t] for permission to retire in the night with the remains of his army and fleet. The tyrant, who was not displeased with leaving the Carthaginians some resource, to keep his subjects in continual awe, gave his consent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilco, four days after, set out with forty ships, filled with Carthaginians alone; leaving the rest of his troops behind. The Corinthians, discovering from the noise and motion of the galleys that Imilco was making off, sent to inform Dionysius of his flight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to pursue him; but as they saw that those orders were but slowly executed, they followed the enemy themselves, and sunk several vessels of their rear guard.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops; but before their arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retired to their several countries. Having first posted troops in all the passes, he advanced directly to the enemy's camp, though it was not quite day. The barbarians, who saw themselves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilco and the Sicilians, lost courage and fled. Some of them were taken by the troops in the passes; others laid down their arms and asked quarter. The Iberians alone drew up, and sent a herald to capitulate with

[t] Three hundred talents.

Dionysius, who incorporated them into his guards. The rest were all made prisoners.

Such was the fate of the Carthaginians; which shows, says the historian, [u] that humiliation treads upon the heels of pride, and that those who are too much puffed up with their power and success, are soon forced to confess their weakness and vanity. Those haughty victors, masters of almost all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuse as already their own, and had already entered triumphant into the great port, insulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly shamefully under the covert of the night; dragging away with them the sad ruins and miserable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilco, who had neither regarded the sacred refuge of temples nor the inviolable sanctity of tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty thousand men unburied in the enemy's country, returns, to perish miserably at Carthage, avenging upon himself by his death the contempt he had expressed for gods and men.

Dionysius, who was suspicious of the strangers in his service, removed ten thousand of them, and, under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodiously situated, and an advantageous settlement. He confided the guard of his person to other foreigners, and the slaves whom he had made free. He made several attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, especially against Rhegium.[x] The people of Italy, seeing themselves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a stop to his conquests. The success was tolerably equal on both sides.

[y] About this time, the Gauls, who some months before had burnt Rome, sent deputies to Dionysius to make an alliance with him. He was at that time

[u] Diodorus Siculus.
[x] Diod. l. xiv. p. 304, 310.
[y] Justin. l. xx. c. 5.

in Italy. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.

In fact, the Carthaginians having set on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Mago, made new efforts against Syracuse, but with no better success than the former. They terminated in an accommodation with Dionysius.

A. M. 3615. Ant. J. C. 389. He attacked Rhegium again, and at first received no inconsiderable check. But having gained a great victory against the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than ten thousand prisoners, he dismissed them all without ransom, contrary to their expectation; with a view of detaching the Italians from the interests of Rhegium, and of dissolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his designs against that city. Having by this act of favour and generosity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned against Rhegium. He was extremely incensed against that city, upon account of their refusing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the insolent answer with which that refusal was attended. The besieged, finding themselves incapable of resisting so numerous an army as that of Dionysius, and expecting no quarter if the city were taken by assault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred thousand crowns, deliver up all their vessels to the number of seventy, and put a hundred hostages into his hands; after which he raised the siege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their destruction sure, after having first reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the false pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he besieged them again with all his forces, having first sent back their hostages. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on

one side, and the fear of the most cruel torments on the other, animated the troops. Those of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and vigorous sallies, in one of which Dionysius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The siege went on slowly, and had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the last extremities. A measure of wheat (of about six bushels) was sold for about ten pounds.[z] After having consumed all their horses and beasts of burden, they were reduced to support themselves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at last to feed upon the grass of the fields like beasts; a resource of which Dionysius soon deprived them, by making his horse eat up all the herbage around the city. Necessity at length reduced them to surrender at discretion, and Dionysius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Those who survived were rather skeletons than men. He took above six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse. Such as could pay about two pounds[a] he dismissed, and sold the rest for slaves.

Dionysius let fall the whole weight of his resentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his son to be thrown into the sea. The next day he ordered the father to be fastened to the extremity of the highest of his engines for a spectacle to the whole army, and in that condition he sent to tell him that his son had been thrown into the sea. "Then he is happier than I by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards caused him to be led through the whole city, to be scourged with rods, and to suffer a thousand other indignities, whilst a herald proclaimed, "that the "perfidious traitor was treated in that manner, for "having inspired the people of Rhegium with re-

[z] Five minæ. [a] One mina.

"bellion." "Say rather," answered that generous defender of his country's liberty, "that a faithful "citizen is so used, for having refused to sacrifice "his country to a tyrant." Such an object and such a discourse drew tears from all eyes, and even from the soldiers of Dionysius. He was afraid his prisoner would be taken from him before he had satiated his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the sea directly.

SECT. IV. *Violent passion of Dionysius for poesy. Reflections upon that taste of the tyrant. Flattery of his courtiers. Generous freedom of Philoxenus. Death of Dionysius. His bad qualities.*

[b] AT an interval of leisure which his success against Rhegium had left Dionysius, the tyrant, who was desirous of glory of every kind, and piqued himself upon the excellence of his genius, sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry.

The circumstance which I am now going to treat, and which regards the taste or rather passion of Dionysius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteristics, and having besides a mixture of good and bad in itself, makes it requisite, in order to form an equitable judgment upon this point, to distinguish wherein this taste of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I say the same of the tyrant's total character, with whose vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented; the veracity of history requiring, that justice should be done to the most wicked, as they are not so in every respect. We have seen several things in his character that certainly deserve praise; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: the mildness with which he

[b] Diod. l. xv. p. 318.

suffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expressed of the bold and generous answer of his sister Thesta upon the occasion of her husband's flight, his gracious and insinuating deportment upon several other occasions to the Syracusans, the familiarity with which he conversed with the meanest citizens and even workmen, the equality he observed between his two wives, and his kindness and respect for them; all which imply that Dionysius had more equity, moderation, affability, and generosity, than is commonly ascribed to him. He is not such a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Pheræ, Caligula, Nero, or Caracalla.

But to return to Dionysius's taste for poetry. In his intervals of leisure, he loved to unbend in the conversation of persons of wit, and in the study of the arts and sciences. He was particularly fond of versifying, and employed himself in the composition of poems, especially of tragedies. Thus far this passion of his may be excused, having something undoubtedly laudable in it; I mean in his taste for polite learning, the esteem he expressed for learned men, his inclination to do them good offices, and the employment to which he devoted his leisure hours. Was it not better to employ them in exercising his mind and the cultivation of science, than in feasting, dancing, theatrical amusements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleasures still more pernicious? This is the wise reflection which Dionysius the Younger made when at Corinth. [c] Philip of Macedon being at table with him, spoke of the odes and tragedies his father had left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and seemed to be under some difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leisure for such compositions. Dionysius smartly and wittily replied, "The difficulty is very great indeed! Why, "he composed them at those hours which you and "I, and an infinity of others, who have so high an

[c] Plut. in Timol. p. 243. c. lxxxv.

" opinion of ourselves, pass in drinking and other " diversions."

[d] Julius Cæsar and the emperor Augustus cultivated poetry, and composed tragedies. Lucullus intended to have written the memoirs of his military actions in verse. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lælius and Scipio, both great captains, especially the latter; and that report, which generally prevailed at Rome, was so far from lessening their reputation, that it added to the general esteem in which they were held.

These relaxations, therefore, were not blameable in their own nature; this taste for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds; but Dionysius was ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a superior or competitor in any thing. From being in the sole possession of supreme authority, he had accustomed himself to imagine that he possessed the same paramount rank in the empire of wit: in a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate estimation of his own merit flowed, in some measure, from the overbearing turn of mind which empire and command had given him. The continual applauses of a court, and the flatteries of those who knew how to recommend themselves by soothing his darling foible, were another source of this vain conceit. And of what will not a * great man, a minister, a prince, think himself capable, who has such incense and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal Richelieu, in the midst of his important business, not only composed dramatic pieces, but piqued himself on his excellence in that talent; and what is more, his jealousy in that point rose so high as to use his authority in causing criticisms to be directed against the compositions of those to whom the public, a just and incorruptible

[d] Suet. in Cæs. c. lvi. in August. c. lxxv: Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

* ——— *Nihil est quod credere de se*
Non possit, cùm laudatur diis æqua potestas. Juvenal.

judge in the question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things, estimable in themselves, and conferring honour upon private persons, in which it does not become a prince to desire to excel. I have mentioned elsewhere Philip of Macedon's expression to his son Alexander, upon his having shown too much skill in music at a public entertainment: "Are not you "ashamed," said he, "to sing so well?" It was acting inconsistently with the dignity of his rank. If Cæsar and Augustus, when they wrote tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been ridiculous, but a reproach to them. And the reason is, because a prince being obliged by an essential and indispensable duty to apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government, and having an infinitude of various business perpetually flowing in upon him, he can make no other use of the sciences, than to divert him at such short intervals, as will not admit such progress in them, as is requisite in order to excel those who make them their particular study. Hence, when the public sees a prince affect the first rank in this kind of merit, they have a right to conclude that he neglects his more important duties, and what he owes to his people's happiness, to give himself up to an employment which wastes his time and mental energy ineffectually.

We must, however, do Dionysius the justice to own, that he was never reproached for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him less active and diligent on any important occasion.

[e] I have already said, that this prince, in an interval of peace, had sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race in his name. When he arrived in the assembly, the beauty as well as number of his cha-

[e] Diod. l. xiv. p. 318.

riots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and silver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. The ear was no less charmed when the poems of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen expressly for the occasion * readers with sonorous, musical voices, who might be heard far and distinctly, and who knew how to give a just emphasis and cadence to the verses they repeated. At first this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience were deceived by the art and sweetness of the pronunciation. But that charm was soon at an end, and the mind not long seduced by the ears. The verses then appeared in all their absurdity. The audience were ashamed of having applauded them, and their praise was turned into laughter, scorn, and insult. Their contempt and indignation rose to such a pitch, that they tore Dionysius's rich pavilion in pieces. Lysias, the celebrated orator, who was come to the Olympic games to dispute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried several times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece, the friend and assertor of liberty, to admit an impious tyrant to share in the celebration of the sacred games, who had no other thoughts than of subjecting all Greece to his power. Dionysius was not affronted in that manner then; but the event proved as little in his favour. His chariots having entered the lists, were all of them either carried out of the course by a headlong impetuosity, or dashed in pieces against one another. And to complete the misfortune, the galley which was bringing back the persons Dionysius had sent to the games, met with a violent storm, and did not return to Syracuse without great difficulty. When the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city, that it was his vile poems which had occasioned so many misfortunes to the readers,

* These readers were called Ῥαψῳδοὶ.

racers, and even the ship itself. This bad success did not at all discourage Dionysius, nor make him abate in the least the high opinion which he entertained of his poetic vein. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to insinuate, that such injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that sooner or later the invidious themselves would be compelled by demonstration to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.

[f] The infatuation of Dionysius on this subject was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warrior, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To endeavour to undeceive him in an opinion so favourable to himself, to say nothing of the absolute hopelessness of the attempt, would have been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who ate at his table in great numbers, seemed to be in an ecstasy of admiration whenever he read them his poems. Never, according to them, was any thing comparable to them: all was great, all noble in his poetry: all was majestic, or, to speak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all the tribe who did not suffer himself to be hurried away by this torrent of excessive praise and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in Dithyrambic poetry. There is a story told of him, which La Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small fish set before him, and a huge one before the king, the whim took him to lay his ear close to the little fish. He was asked what he meant by that pleasantry: "I was enquiring," said he, "into some "affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but "this young native of the floods can give me no

[f] Diod. l. xv. p. 331.

"information; yours is elder, and without doubt "knows something of the matter."

Dionysius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having pressed him to give him his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real sentiments. Dionysius, who was not accustomed to such language, was extremely offended, and ascribing his boldness to envy, gave orders to carry him to the quarries; the common jail being so called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account, and solicited for the generous prisoner, whose release they obtained. He was enlarged the next day, and restored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionysius for the same guests, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reason more than usually gay and cheerful; after they had plentifully regaled a great while, the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the conversation, which were the most frequent subject of it. He chose some passages which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and conceived to be master-pieces, as was very discernible from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed whilst they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he set the greater value, as it was not his custom to be so profuse of it as the rest. What had passed the evening before was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his opinion of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer, but turning towards the guards, who stood round the table, he said in a serious, though humorous tone, without any emotion; "Carry me back to the quarries." * The prince comprehended all the salt and spirit of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offended. The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its free-

* Τότε μὲν διὰ τὴν εὐτραπελίαν τῶν λόγων μειδιάσας ὁ Διονύσιος, ἤνεγκε τὴν παῤῥησίαν τῷ γέλωτος τὴν μέμψιν ἀμβλύνοντος.

dom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him excessively angry. He only laughed at it now, and was not displeased with the poet.

He did not act in the same way upon occasion of a gross jest of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and was the result of a violent and brutal disposition. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brass. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon said, that was the best of which the statues of * Harmodius and Aristogiton were made. This witty expression,[g] if it may be called so, cost him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus, apprehending that his too great frankness might be also attended with fatal consequences, represented to him in the most serious manner, that those who live with princes must speak their language; that they wish to have nothing said to them but what is agreeable; that whoever does not know how to dissemble, is not qualified for a court; that the favours and liberalities which Dionysius continually bestowed upon them, well deserved the return of some little complaisance; that, in a word, with his blunt freedom and plain truth, he was in danger of losing not only his fortune but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would profit by their good advice, and for the future give such a turn to his answers as should satisfy Dionysius without in juring truth.

Accordingly some time after, Dionysius having read a piece of his composing upon a very mournful subject, wherein he was to move compassion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, he addressed himself again to Philoxenus, and asked him what he thought of his verses. Philoxenus gave him for answer one word,[h] which in the Greek language has

[g] Plut. Moral. p. 78, & 833. [h] Οἰκτρά.

* They had delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ.

two different significations. In one of them it implies mournful, moving things, such as inspire sentiments of pity and compassion: in the other, it expresses something very mean, defective, pitiful, and miserable. Dionysius, who was fond of his verses, and believed that every body must have the same good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable construction, and was extremely satisfied with Philoxenus. The rest of the company were not mistaken, but understood it in the right sense, though without explaining themselves.

Nothing could cure his folly for versification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus,[i] that having sent some of his poems a second time to Olympia, they were treated with the same ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an excess of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned soon after into a kind of madness and phrensy. He complained that envy and jealousy, the certain enemies of true merit, were always making war upon him, and that all the world conspired to ruin his reputation. He accused his best friends of having engaged in the same design; some of whom he put to death, and others he banished; amongst whom were Leptines his brother, and Philistus, who had done him such great services, and to whom he was indebted for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled some time after, and reinstated in all their fortunes and former favour: Leptines even married Dionysius's daughter.

[k] To remove his melancholy occasioned by the ill success of his verses, it was necessary to find some employment; and with this his wars and buildings supplied him. He had formed a design of establishing powerful colonies in that part of Italy which is situate upon the Adriatic sea facing Epirus; in order that his fleet might not want a secure retreat,

[i] Pag. 332. [k] Diod. l. xv. p. 336, 337.

when he should employ his forces on that side; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and restored Alcetes, king of the Molossians, to his throne. His principal design was to attack Epirus, and to make himself master of the immense treasures which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphi. Before he could set this project on foot, which required great preparations, he seemed to wish to make an essay of his abilities, by another of the same kind, though of much more easy execution. Having made a sudden irruption into Tuscany, under the pretence of pursuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the suburbs of Agylla, a city of that country, and carried away a sum exceeding four millions five hundred thousand livres.[l] He had occasion for money to support his great expences at Syracuse, as well in fortifying the port, and making it capable of receiving two hundred galleys, as in enclosing the whole city with good walls, erecting magnificent temples, and building a place of exercise upon the banks of the river Anapus.

[m] At the same time he formed the design of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily. A first victory which he gained, put him almost into a condition to accomplish his project; but the loss of a second battle, in which his brother Leptines was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up several towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great sums of money to reimburse their expences in the war. An attempt which he made upon them some years after, taking advantage of the desolation occasioned by the plague at Carthage, had no better success.

[n] Another victory of a very different kind, though

[l] 1500 talents, or about 200,000*l.* sterling.
[m] See the history of the Carthaginians.
[n] Diod. p. 384, 385.

one which he had no less at heart, made him amends, or at least comforted him, for the ill success of his arms. He had caused a tragedy of his to be represented at Athens, for the prize in the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory among the Athenians, who were the best judges of this kind of literature, seems to indicate that the poetry of Dionysius was not so *mean* and *pitiful*; and it is very possible that the aversion of the Greeks for every thing which came from a tyrant, had a great share in the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the Olympic games. Be this as it may, Dionysius received the news with inexpressible transports of joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, the temples being scarce capable of containing the concourse of the people. Nothing was seen throughout the city but feasting and rejoicing; and Dionysius regaled all his friends with the most extraordinary magnificence. Self-satisfied to a degree that cannot be described, he believed himself at the summit of glory, and did the honours of his table with a gaiety and ease, and at the same time with a grace and dignity, that charmed all the world. He invited his guests to eat and drink more by his example than expressions, and carried his civilities of that kind to such an excess, that at the close of the banquet he was seized with violent pains, occasioned by an indigestion, of which it was not difficult to foresee the consequences.

Dionysius had three children by his wife Doris, and four by Aristomache, of which two were daughters, the one named Sophrosyne, the other Arete. Sophrosyne was married to his eldest son, Dionysius the Younger, whom he had by his Locrian wife; and Arete espoused her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying soon, Dion married his widow Arete, who was his own niece.

[a] Plut. in Dion. p. 960.

As Dionysius's distemper left no hopes of his life, Dion undertook to speak to him concerning his children by Aristomache, who were at the same time his brothers-in-law and nephews, and to insinuate to him, that it was just to prefer the issue of his Syracusan wife to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous of making their court to young Dionysius, the Locrian's son, for whom the throne was intended, did not give him an opportunity; for Dionysius having demanded a medicine to make him sleep, they gave him so strong a dose as quite stupified him, and laid him in a sleep that lasted him for the rest of his life. He had reigned thirty-eight years.

He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occasion for them all to raise himself as he did from a mean condition to so high a rank. After having held the sovereignty thirty-eight years, he transmitted it peaceably to a successor of his own issue and election; and had established his power upon such solid foundations, that his son, notwithstanding his slender capacity for governing, retained it twelve years; all which could not have been effected without a great fund of merit. But what qualities could cover the vices which rendered him the object of his subjects' abhorrence? His ambition knew neither law nor limit; his avarice spared nothing, not even the most sacred places; his cruelty had no regard to the nearest relations; and his open and professed impiety acknowledged the Divinity only to insult him.

As he was returning to Syracuse with a very favourable wind after plundering the temple of Proserpine at Locris, "See," said he to his friends with a smile of contempt, "how the immortal gods "favour the navigation of the sacrilegious."[1]

Having occasion for money to carry on the war

[1] Cic. de nat. deor. l. iii. n. 83, 84.

against the Carthaginians, he rifled the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of solid gold, which ornament Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the spoils of the Carthaginians. He even jested upon that occasion, saying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter; and at the same time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders; adding, that such a habit would be commodious in all seasons.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of Æsculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; giving for his reason, that it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard, * when the father had none.

He caused all the tables of silver to be taken out of the temples; and as there was inscribed upon them, according to the custom of the Greeks, TO THE GOOD GODS; he would (he said) take the benefit of their GOODNESS.

As for less prizes, such as cups and crowns of gold, which the statues held in their hands, those he carried off, without any ceremony; saying, it was not taking, but merely receiving them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuse them when they held out their hands themselves to present them to you. These spoils were carried by his order to the market, and sold by public sale: and when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their custody any things taken out of sacred places, were to restore them entire, within a limited time, to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the gods, injustice to man.

The amazing precautions that Dionysius thought necessary to secure his life, show to what anxiety and apprehension he was abandoned. [q] He wore

[q] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 57, 63.

* Apollo was represented without a beard.

under his robe a cuirass of brass. He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower; and thought he made himself invulnerable by being inaccessible. Not daring to confide in any of his friends or relations, his guard was composed of slaves and strangers. He went abroad as little as possible; fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of imprisonment. These extraordinary precautions are to be referred without doubt to certain periods of his reign, when frequent conspiracies against him rendered him more timid and suspicious than usual; for at other times we have seen that he conversed freely enough with the people, and was accessible even to familiarity. In those dark days of distrust and fear, he fancied that he saw all mankind in arms against him. [r] An expression which escaped his barber, who boasted, by way of jest, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week, cost him his life. From thenceforth, not to abandon his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, do him that despicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the scissars and razors from them, and taught them to singe off his beard with walnut-shells. [s] He was at last reduced to do himself that office, not daring, it seems, to trust his own daughters any longer. He never went into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was surrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a small draw-bridge over it for the entrance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might sleep in security. [t] Neither his brother, nor even his sons, could be admitted into his chamber without first changing their clothes, and being visited by the guards. Can he be said to reign, can he

[r] Plut. de Garrul. p. 508. [s] Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 55.
[t] Plut. in Dion. p. 961.

be said to live, who passes his days in such continual distrust and terror!

In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and surrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of almost forty years, notwithstanding all his presents and profusion, he never was capable of making a single friend. He passed his life with none but trembling slaves and sordid flatterers; and never tasted the joy of loving, or of being beloved, nor the charms of social intercourse and reciprocal confidence. This he ingenuously owned himself upon an occasion not unworthy of being related.

[w] Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually sworn to observe with inviolable fidelity. Their faith was put to a severe trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned for permission to make a journey into his own country, to settle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time, the other generously offering to be his security. The courtiers, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of so delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend who had bound himself in such a manner. But he, far from expressing any fear or concern, replied with a tranquil air, and confident tone, that he was sure his friend would return; as he accordingly did upon the day and hour agreed. The tyrant, struck with admiration at so uncommon an instance of fidelity, and softened with the view of so amiable an union, granted him his life, and desired to be admitted as a third person into their friendship.

[x] He expressed with equal ingenuousness on

[w] Cic. de Offic. l. iii. n. 43. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.
[x] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 61, 62.

another occasion what he himself thought of his condition. One of his courtiers named Damocles was perpetually extolling with rapture his treasures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the universal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his possession; always repeating, that never man was happier than Dionysius. "Since "you are of that opinion," said the tyrant to him one day, "will you taste and make proof of my "felicity in person?" The offer was accepted with joy; Damocles was placed upon a golden couch, covered with carpets richly embroidered. The side-boards were loaded with vessels of gold and silver. The most beautiful slaves in the most splendid habits stood around, ready to serve him at the slightest signal. The most exquisite essences and perfumes had not been spared. The table was spread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himself as the happiest man in the world; when unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld over his head the point of a sword, which hung from the roof only by a single horse-hair. He was immediately seized with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an instant; he could see nothing but the sword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear he desired permission to retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. A very natural image of the life of a tyrant. He of whom we are speaking, reigned, as I have observed before, thirty-eight years.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. *Dionysius the Younger succeeds his father. Dion engages him to invite Plato to his court. Surprising alteration occasioned by his presence. Conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent the effects of it.*

A. M. 3632. Ant. J. C. 372. [y] DIONYSIUS the Elder was succeeded by one of his sons of his own name, commonly called Dionysius the Younger. After his father's funeral had been solemnized with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and desired they would have the same good inclinations for him as they had evinced for his father. They were very different from each other in their character. [z] For the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition, as the former was active and enterprising; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of natural sloth and indolence of temper.

It is surprising to see Dionysius the Younger take quiet possession of the tyranny after the death of his father, as a patrimonial inheritance, notwithstanding the natural fondness of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince undistinguished by his merit, and void of experience. It seemed as if the last years of the elder Dionysius, who had applied himself towards the close of his life in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had in some measure reconciled them to tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage itself, as well as

[y] Diod. l. xv. p. 385. [z] Id. l. xvi. p. 410.

to the most potent states of Greece and Italy. Besides which it was to be feared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the sad consequences of a civil war might deprive them of all those advantages: whereas the gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius gave them reason to entertain the most favourable hopes with regard to the future. He therefore peaceably ascended his father's throne.

Something of this kind has been seen in England. The famous Cromwell died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the best of princes, and was interred with the same honours and pomp as a lawful sovereign. Richard his son succeeded him as protector, and for some time possessed equal authority with his father, though he had not any of his great qualities.

[a] Dion, the bravest, and at the same time the most prudent of the Syracusans, who was Dionysius's brother-in-law, might have been of great support to him, had he known how to profit by his advice. In the first assembly held by Dionysius and all his friends, Dion spoke in so wise a manner upon what was necessary and expedient in the present conjuncture, as showed that the rest were infants in judgment in comparison with him; and in regard to a just boldness and freedom of speech, were no more than despicable slaves of the tyranny, solely employed in the abject endeavour of pleasing the prince. But what surprised and amazed them most was that Dion, at a time when the whole court was struck with terror at the prospect of the storm already formed on the side of Carthage, and just ready to break upon Sicily, should insist, that if Dionysius desired peace, he would embark immediately for Africa, and dispel this tempest to his satisfaction; or if he preferred making war, that he would furnish and maintain at his own expence fifty galleys of three benches completely equipped for service.

[a] Plut. in Dion. p. 960, 961.

Dionysius, admiring and extolling so generous a magnanimity to the skies, professed the highest gratitude to him for his zeal and affection; but the courtiers, who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themselves, and his great power as a lessening of their own, took immediate occasion from thence to calumniate him, and spared no expressions that might influence the young prince against him. They insinuated, that in making himself strong at sea, he would open his way to the tyranny; and that with his vessels he designed to transfer the sovereignty to his nephews, the sons of Aristomache.

But what put them most out of humour with Dion, was his manner of life, which was a continual censure of their own. For these courtiers having presently insinuated themselves into the good graces of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of supplying him perpetually with new amusements, keeping him always employed in feasting, abandoned to women, and devoted to all manner of shameful pleasures. [b] In the beginning of his reign he made a riotous entertainment, which continued for three entire months, during all which time his palace, shut against all persons of sense and reason, was crowded with drunkards, and resounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, and every kind of gross and dissolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offensive and disgusting to them than the presence of Dion, who gave into none of these pleasures. For which reason, painting his virtues in such of the colours of vice as were most likely to disguise them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity pass for arrogance, and his freedom of speech for insolence and sedition. If he advanced any wise counsel, they treated him as a sour pedagogue, who took upon him to

[b] Athen. l. x. p. 435.

obtrude his lectures, and to school his prince without being asked; and if he refused to share in the revels with the rest, they called him a man-hater, a splenetic, melancholy wretch, who from the fantastic height of virtue looked down with contempt on the rest of the world, and set himself up for the censor of mankind.

And indeed it must be confessed, that he had naturally something austere and rigid in his manners and behaviour, which seemed to denote a haughtiness of disposition, very capable not only of disgusting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidst flatteries and submission, but even his best friends, and those who were most closely attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude, and nobleness of sentiments, they represented to him, that for a statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himself to the different tempers of men, in order to apply them to his purposes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding.

[c] Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philosopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whose conversation was well calculated to inspire him with more easy and insinuating manners. He reminds him also of that failing in a letter, wherein he thus addresses him: "Consider, I beg you, that "you are censured as being deficient in good na-"ture and affability; and imprint it on your mind, "that the most certain means to ensure the suc-"cess of affairs, is to be agreeable to the persons "with whom we have to transact them. A "* haughty carriage keeps people at a distance, "and reduces a man to pass his life in solitude."

[c] Plat. Epist. iv. p. 327, 328.

* Ἡ δ' ἀυθάδεια ἐρημία ξύνοικος. M. Dacier renders these words, *Pride is always the companion of solitude.* I have shown elsewhere, wherein this version is faulty. *Art of teaching the Belles Lettres*, Vol. III. p. 505.

Notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly considered at court; where his superior abilities and transcendent merit made him absolutely necessary, especially at a time when the state was threatened with great danger and commotions.

[d] As he believed, that all the vices of young Dionysius were the effect of his bad education and entire ignorance of his duty, he conceived justly, that the first step would be to associate him if possible with persons of wit and sense, whose solid, but agreeable conversation, might at once instruct and divert him: for the prince did not naturally want parts and genius.

The sequel will show that Dionysius the Younger had a natural propensity to what was good and virtuous, and a taste and capacity for arts and sciences. He knew how to set a value upon the merit and talents by which men are distinguished. He delighted in conversing with persons of ability, and from his correspondence with them, made himself capable of the highest improvements. He went so far as to familiarize the throne with those sciences which have not usually the privilege of approaching it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility, by which he raised them to honour and distinction. Nor was he insensible to the joys of friendship. In private he was a good parent, relation, and master, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and it might be said of him, that he was rather a tyrant by succession and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonstrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince, (not to say a good one,) had proper care been early taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into

[d] Plut. in Dion. p. 962. Plat. Epist. vii. p. 327, 328.

the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, industriously suppressed in him all tendency to goodness, and every noble and elevated sentiment, by a base and obscure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing against himself. It was therefore necessary to find for him a person of the character before mentioned, or rather to inspire him with the desire of having such an one found.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful address. He often talked to him of Plato, as the most profound and illustrious of philosophers, whose merit he himself had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the brilliancy of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him particularly as the man of all others most capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the people's happiness depended. He told him, that his subjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and justice, which force and violence extorted from them against their will; and that by such a conduct he would, from a tyrant, become a just king, to whom all submission would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much these discourses, introduced in conversation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated design, inflamed the young prince with the desire of knowing and conversing with Plato. He wrote to him in the most importunate and obliging manner: he dispatched to Athens couriers after couriers to hasten his voyage; whilst Plato, who apprehended the consequences, and had but small hopes of any good effect from it,

protracted the affair, and, without absolutely refusing, sufficiently intimated, that he could not resolve upon it, without doing violence to himself. The obstacles and difficulties made to the young prince's request, were so far from disgusting him, that they only served, as it commonly happens, to inflame his desire. The Pythagorean philosophers of Græcia Magna in Italy joined their entreaties with his and Dion's, who on his part redoubled his solicitation, and used the strongest arguments to conquer Plato's repugnance. "This is not," said he, "the concern of a private person, but of a "powerful prince, whose change of manners will "have the same effect throughout his whole domi- "nions, with the extent of which you are not un- "acquainted. It is he himself who makes all the "advances; who importunes and solicits you to "come to his assistance, and employs the interest "of all your friends to that purpose. What more "favourable conjuncture could we expect than that "which Divine Providence now offers? Are you "not afraid that your delays will give the flatter- "ers, who surround the young prince, the oppor- "tunity of drawing him over to themselves, and of "seducing him to change his resolution? What "reproaches would you not make yourself, and "what dishonour would it not be to philosophy, "should it ever be said, that Plato, who by his "counsels to Dionysius might have established a "wise and equitable government in Sicily, aban- "doned it to all the evils of tyranny, from fear of "undergoing the fatigues of a voyage, or from I "know not what other imaginary difficulties?"

Plato could not resist such earnest solicitations. Vanquished by the consideration of what was due to his own character, and to obviate the reproach of his being a philosopher in words only, without having ever shown himself such in his actions, and conscious besides of the great advantages which Sicily

* Plut. p. 962.

might acquire from his voyage, he suffered himself to be persuaded.

The flatterers at the court of Dionysius, terrified with the resolution which he had taken contrary to their remonstrances, and fearing the presence of Plato, the consequences of which they foresaw, united together against him as their common enemy. They rightly judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be measured by the standard of true merit, and no favour was to be expected from the prince, but for services done to the state, they had nothing further to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner of purpose. They therefore devised a plan to render Plato's voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent it: and this was to prevail upon Dionysius to recall Philistus from banishment, who was not only an able soldier, but a great historian, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous asserter of the tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him against Plato and his philosophy. Upon his being banished by Dionysius the Elder, on some personal discontent, he had retired into the city of Adria, where it is believed he composed the greatest part of his writings. [f] He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionysius the tyrant, in six; all which works are entirely lost. Cicero praises * him highly, and calls him a little Thucydides, *pène pusillus Thucydides*, to signify that he copied that author, and not without success. He was therefore recalled. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dion to Dionysius, accusing him of having held conferences with Theodotus and Heraclides,

[f] Diod. l. xiii. p. 222.

* *Hunc (Thucydidem) consecutus est Syracusius Philistus, qui cùm Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historiâ scribendâ, maximèque Thucydidem est, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus.* Cic. de Orat. l. ii. n. 57.

Siculus ille, creber, acutus, brevis, pènè pusillus Thucydides. Id. Epist. xiii. ad Qu. frat. l. ii.

the secret enemies of that prince, to concert with them measures for subverting the tyranny.

[s] This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily. He was received with infinite caresses, and with the highest marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's chariots, equally magnificent in its horses and ornaments, awaiting him. The tyrant offered a sacrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had befallen him: nor was he mistaken; for a wise man who is capable of giving a prince good counsels, is a treasure of inestimable value to a whole nation. But the worth of such a person is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uses which might be made of it.

Plato found the most happy dispositions imaginable in young Dionysius, who devoted himself entirely to his lessons and counsels. But as he had himself derived infinite improvement from the precepts and example of Socrates his master, the most able man of all the Pagan world in forming the mind to relish truth, he took care to adapt himself with wonderful address to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his passions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and insinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, in order to render it at the same time triumphant over vice, which keeps mankind in its chains, by the sole force of allurements, pleasures, and voluptuousness.

The change was sudden and surprising. The young prince, who till then had abandoned himself to idleness, pleasure, and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his station, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life, awaking as from a lethargic sleep, began to open his eyes, to have some idea of the beauty of virtue, and to relish the refined pleasure of conversation equally solid and

[s] Plut. in Dion. p. 963.

agreeable. He was now as passionately fond of learning and instruction, as he had once been averse and repugnant to them. The court, which always apes the prince, and falls in with his inclinations in every thing, entered into the same way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like so many schools of geometry, were full of the dust made use of by the professors of that science in tracing their figures; and in a very short time the study of philosophy and of every kind of literature became the reigning and universal taste.

The great benefit of these studies, in regard to a prince, does not consist alone in storing his mind with an infinity of the most curious, useful, and often necessary information, but has the farther advantage of withdrawing him from idleness, indolence, and the frivolous amusements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inspiring him with a desire of instructing himself in the duties of the sovereignty, and of knowing the characters of such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himself capable of governing the state in his own person, and of seeing every thing with his own eyes, that is to say, of being a king indeed. And this it was that the courtiers and flatterers, as usually happens, were unanimous in opposing.

They were considerably alarmed by an expression that escaped Dionysius, and showed how strong an impression had already been made upon his mind by the discourses he had heard upon the happiness of a king, who is regarded with tender affection by his people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and detest. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the time appointed for a solemn sacrifice, which was annually offered in the palace for the prince's prosperity. The herald having prayed to this effect, according to custom, *That it would please the gods to support the tyranny, and preserve the tyrant:* Dionysius,

who was not far from him, and to whom these terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, "Will you not give over cursing me?" Philistus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expression, and judged from it, that time and habit must give Plato an invincible ascendant over Dionysius, if the intercourse of a few days could so entirely alter his disposition. They therefore set themselves at work upon new and more effectual stratagems against him.

They began by turning the retired life which Dionysius was induced to lead, and the studies in which he employed himself, into ridicule, as if it was intended to make a philosopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected, and even odious to him. They represented them as * impertinent censors and imperious pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which was neither consistent with his age nor rank. † It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionysius, who, with the most excellent disposition, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to such artful insinuations in a court that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually besieged by a crowd of flatterers incessantly praising and admiring him in every thing.

But the principal application of the courtiers was to decry the character and conduct of Dion himself; no longer separately, nor in secret, but all together, and in public. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing, that it was visible that Dion made use of Plato's eloquence, to fascinate and enchant Dionysius, with design to

* *Tristes et superciliosos alienæ vitæ censores, publicos pædagogos.* Sen. Epist. cxxiii.

† *Nec artibus honestis pudor retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris servaretur.* Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 15.

draw him into a voluntary resignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children of Aristomache, and establish them in the sovereignty. They publicly observed, that it was very mortifying to see that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great forces both by sea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss the ten thousand strangers who composed his guard; to lay aside his fleet of four hundred galleys, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the sake of going to find in the academy (the place where Plato taught) a pretended Supreme Good which could not be explained, and to make himself happy in imagination by the study of geometry; whilst he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleasure.

SECT. II. *Banishment of Dion. Plato quits the court soon after, and returns into Greece. Dion admired there by all the learned. Plato returns to Syracuse.*

THE courtiers, intent upon taking advantage of every favourable moment, perpetually besieged the young prince; and covering their secret motives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, incessantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourse at first raised in the mind of Dionysius violent suspicions of Dion; which presently increased into fierce resentment, and broke out into an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionysius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambas-

sadors, wherein he recommended to them, *when they should treat of peace with Dionysius, not to open the conferences but in his presence; because he would assist them in making their treaty more firm and lasting.* Dionysius read these letters to Philistus, and having concerted with him what measures to take,[h] he amused and deceived Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and led him alone to the sea side below the citadel, where he showed him his letters, and accused him of having entered into a league against him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have justified himself, but he refused to hear him, and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after set sail for Peloponnesus.

[i] So harsh and unjust a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noise, and the whole city declared against it; especially as it was reported, though without foundation, that Plato had been put to death. [k] Dionysius, who apprehended the consequences, took pains to appease the public discontent, and to stifle the complaints. He gave Dion's relations two vessels to transport to him in Peloponnesus his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As soon as Dion was gone, Dionysius made Plato change his lodging, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato nearer to him, he might also have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodiously. For, charmed with the allurements of his conversation, and studying to please him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an esteem, or rather passion for him, which rose even to jealousy, but a jealousy of that violence,

[h] Diod. l. xvi. p. 410, 411.
[i] Plut. p. 964.
[k] Plat. Ep. vii.

that could suffer neither companion nor rival. He wished to engross him entirely to himself, to reign solely in his thoughts and affections, and to be the only object of his love and esteem. He seemed ready to give him all his treasures and all his authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendship to his. Plutarch has reason to call this passion *a tyrannic affection.*[1] Plato had much to suffer from it; for it had all the symptoms of the most ardent jealousy. * Sometimes it was all friendship, caresses, and fond respect, with an unbounded openness of heart, and an endless swell of tender sentiments: sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce passion, and wild emotion; and soon after it sunk into repentance, excuses, tears, and humble entreaties of pardon and forgiveness.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently for Plato, which obliged Dionysius to restore him his liberty, and send him home. At his departure he would have overwhelmed him with presents, but Plato refused them, contenting himself with his promise to recall Dion the following spring. He did not keep his word, and only sent him his revenue, desiring Plato in his letters to excuse his breach of promise at the time prefixed, and to impute it only to the war. He assured him, as soon as peace should be concluded, that Dion should return; upon condition, however, that he should continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato, on his return to Greece, went to see the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongst strangers of distinction. He ate and

[1] Ἠράσθη τυραννικὸν ἔρωτα.

* *In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; suspiciones, inimicitiæ, injuriæ, inducie, bellum, pax rursum.* Terent. in Eunuch.

——— *In amore hæc sunt mala: bellum,*
Pax rursum. Hor.

passed whole days with them, living in a plain and simple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the academy, or making himself known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The strangers were overjoyed at having met with so mild and amiable a companion; but as he never talked but on common topics, they had not the least notion that he was the philosopher whose reputation was so universal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They were scarce arrived there, when they desired him to carry them to see the famous philosopher of his name, who had been Socrates's disciple. Plato told them smiling, that he was the man; upon which the strangers, surprised at their having possessed so inestimable a treasure without knowing it, were much displeased with, and secretly reproached themselves, for not having discerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of simplicity and modesty which he had thrown over it, whilst they admired him the more upon that account.

[m] The time Dion passed at Athens was not misspent. He employed it chiefly in the study of philosophy, for which he had a great taste, and which was become his delight. * He knew, however, which is not very easy, how to confine it within just bounds, and never gave himself up to it at the expence of any duty. It was at the same time that Plato made him contract a particular friendship with his nephew Speusippus, who, uniting the easy and insinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philosopher, knew how to associate mirth and innocent pleasure with the most serious affairs, and by that character, very rarely found amongst men of learning, was the most proper of all men to

[m] Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

* *Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientiâ modum.* Tacit. in vit. Agric. n. 4.

soften what was too rough and austere in Dion's temper.

Whilst Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the public games, and to have tragedies performed at the feast of Bacchus, which was usually attended with great magnificence and expence, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into fashion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who sought every occasion of producing him to the public, was well pleased to resign that honour to him, in order that his magnificence might make him still better beloved and esteemed by the Athenians.

Dion visited also the other cities of Greece, was present at all their feasts and assemblies, and conversed with the most excellent wits and the most profound statesmen. He was not distinguished in company by the haughtiness and pride too common in persons of his rank, but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, simple, and modest air; and still more by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reflections. All the cities paid him the highest honours, and even the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regarding the resentment of Dionysius, though he actually was assisting them at that time with a powerful supply in their war against the Thebans. So many marks of esteem and distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy. He put a stop to the remittances of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be received by his own officers.

[n] After Dionysius had put an end to the war in which he was engaged in Sicily, of which history relates no circumstance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philosophers against him, and make him pass for their enemy. For this reason he invited the most learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent assemblies,

[n] Plat. Epist. vii. p. 338, 340. Plut. in Dion. p. 964, 966.

in which, out of a foolish ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and depth of knowledge; venting, without application, such of Plato's discourses as he retained. But as he had those discourses only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the source of his eloquence was soon exhausted. He then perceived what he had lost by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom which he had once in his own possession and under his own roof, and by not having heard, in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greatest philosopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and impetuous, Dionysius was suddenly seized with an excessive desire of seeing Plato again, and used all means for that purpose. He prevailed upon Architas, and the other Pythagorean philosophers, to write to him, that he might return with all manner of security; and to be bound for the performance of all the promises which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemus to Plato, and Dionysius sent at the same time two galleys of three benches of rowers, with several of his friends on board, to entreat his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be persuaded to come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him; but that if he came, there was nothing that he would not be inclined to do in his favour.

Dion received several letters at the same time from his wife and sister, who pressed him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and to satisfy the impatience of Dionysius, that he might have no new pretexts against him upon that account. Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not resist the warm solicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the third time, at seventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themselves that his wisdom would

at length overthrow the tyranny; and the joy of Dionysius was inexpressible. He appointed the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the most honourable in the palace, and had so much confidence in him, that he suffered him to have access at all hours, without being searched; a favour not granted to any of his best friends.

After the first caresses were over, Plato was anxious to enter upon Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionysius put it off at first; to which ensued complaints and murmurings, though not outwardly expressed for some time. The tyrant took great care to conceal his sentiments, endeavouring by all manner of honours and by all possible regard and complaisance, to abate his friendship for Dion. Plato dissembled on his side, and though extremely shocked at so notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himself.

Whilst they were upon these terms, and believed that nobody penetrated their secret, Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there would be an eclipse of the sun; which happening according to his prediction exactly at the hour assigned, Dionysius was so much surprised and astonished at it (a proof that he was no great philosopher), that he made him a present of a talent.* Aristippus, jesting with the other philosophers upon that occasion, said, that he had also something very incredible and extraordinary to foretel. Upon being pressed to explain himself, "I prophesy," said he, "that it will not be long "before Dionysius and Plato, who seem to agree "so well with each other, will be enemies."

Dionysius verified this prediction; for being weary of the constraint he laid upon himself, he ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his own use. At the same time he

* A thousand crowns.

made Plato quit the apartments in the garden, and gave him another lodging without the castle in the midst of his guards, who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity to kill him, because he had advised Dionysius to renounce the tyranny, to disband them, and to live without any other guard than the love of his people. Plato was sensible that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who restrained the fury of his guard.

Architas the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, who was the principal person, and supreme magistrate of Tarentum, had no sooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he sent ambassadors with a galley of thirty oars to demand him from Dionysius, and to remind him, that he had come to Syracuse only upon his promise, and that of all the Pythagorean philosophers, who had engaged for his safety; that therefore he could not retain him against his will, nor suffer any insult to be done to his person, without a manifest breach of faith, and absolutely forfeiting the opinion of all honest men. These just remonstrances awakened a remnant of shame in the tyrant, who at last permitted Plato to return into Greece.

° Philosophy and wisdom abandoned the palace with him. To the conversations, as agreeable as useful, to that taste and passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wise politician, * idle tattle, frivolous amusements, and a stupid indolence, entirely averse to every thing serious or reasonable, were seen to succeed. Gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery resumed their former empire at the court, and transformed it from the school of virtue, which it had been under Plato, into the real stable of Circe.

° Plut. in Moral. p. 52.

* Τὸ ληρεῖν, ἀμουσία, λήθη, εὐήθεια,

SECT. III. *Dion sets out to deliver Syracuse. Sudden and fortunate success of his enterprise. Horrid ingratitude of the Syracusans. Unparalleled goodness of Dion to them and his most cruel enemies. His death.*

A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

[a] WHEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionysius threw off all reserve, and married his sister Arete, Dion's wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends. So unworthy a treatment was, in a manner, the signal of war. From that moment Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himself for all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his resolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the misfortunes he was about to occasion, and declared that he must expect neither assistance nor relief from him; that as he had been the guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his palace, and joined in the same sacrifices with him, he should never forget the duties of hospitality; and at the same time, not to be wanting to his friendship for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to discharge the offices of a mediator between them, in order to reconcile them; though he should oppose their designs, when they tended to the destruction of each other.

Whether through prudence or gratitude, or the conviction that Dion could not justifiably undertake to dethrone Dionysius; this was Plato's opinion. On the other hand, Speusippus, and all the rest of Dion's friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and restore liberty to Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was indeed the disposition of Syracuse,

[a] Plut. in Dion. p. 966, 968.

which Speusippus, during his residence there with Plato, had sufficiently experienced. This was the universal cry; whilst they importuned and conjured Dion to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for the want of ships or troops, but only to embark in the first merchant vessel he met with, and lend his person and name to the Syracusans against Dionysius.

Dion did not hesitate any longer to take that resolution, which in one respect cost him not a little. From the time that Dionysius had obliged him to quit Syracuse and Sicily, he had led in his banishment the most agreeable life it was possible to imagine, for a person who like him had contracted a taste for the delights of study. He enjoyed in peace the conversation of the philosophers, and was present at their disputations; shining in a manner entirely peculiar to himself, by the greatness of his genius and the solidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece, to see and converse with the most eminent for their knowledge and capacity, and to correspond with the ablest politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and respected by all that knew him; and receiving, wherever he came, the highest honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from so happy a life that he withdrew himself to go to the relief of his country, which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.

No enterprise perhaps was ever formed with so much boldness, or conducted with so much prudence. Dion began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. A great number of considerable persons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But what is very surprising, of all those whom the tyrant had banished, and who were not less than a thousand, only twenty-five accompanied him in this

expedition; so much had fear got possession of them. The isle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of almost eight hundred; but all of them of tried courage on great occasions, excellently disciplined and robust, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found amongst the most brave and warlike; and, in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of setting them the example of fighting with all the valour so noble an enterprise required.

But when they were to set forwards, and it was known that this armament was intended against Sicily and Dionysius, for till then it had not been declared, they were all in a consternation, and repented their having engaged in an enterprise which they could not avoid, considering as the effect of extreme rashness and folly, that in the last despair was for putting every thing to the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for all his resolution and eloquence to reanimate the troops and remove their fears. But after he had spoken to them, and with an assured though modest tone had made them understand, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily, who had long been prepared for a revolt, their dread and sadness were changed into shouts of joy, and they desired nothing so much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion, having prepared a magnificent sacrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops completely armed, and in that equipage marched in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a great feast to the whole company, at the end of which, after the libations and solemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, reassured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon that

account. The next day they embarked on board two trading vessels, which were followed by a third not so large, and by two barks of thirty oars.

[q] Who could have imagined, says an historian, that a man with two merchant vessels should ever dare to attack a prince who had four *hundred ships of war, a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of arms and corn in proportion, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them; who, besides all this, was in possession of one of the greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with ports, arsenals, and impregnable citadels, with the additional strength and support of a great number of potent allies? The event will show, whether force and power are adamantine chains for retaining a state in subjection, as the elder Dionysius flattered himself; or whether the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, and the love of subjects, are not infinitely stronger and more indissoluble ties.

[r] Dion having put to sea with his small body of troops, was twelve days under sail with little wind, and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus, a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuse. When they came to that place, the pilot gave notice that they must land directly, as there was reason to fear a hurricane, and therefore it would not be proper to put to sea. But Dion, who was apprehensive

[q] Diod. l. xvi. p. 413.

[r] Plut. in Dion. p. 968, 972. Diod. l. xvi. p. 414, 417.

* It is not easy to comprehend how the two Dionysii were capable of maintaining so great a force by sea and land, their dominions being only a part of Sicily, and consequently of no great extent. It is true, that the city of Syracuse had been very much enriched by commerce; and undoubtedly those two princes received great contributions from the cities dependent upon them both in Sicily and Italy: but it is still no easy matter to conceive how all this could be sufficient for the enormous expences of Dionysius the Elder, in fitting out great fleets, raising and maintaining numerous armies, and erecting magnificent buildings. It were to be wished, that historians had given us some better lights upon this head.

of making his descent so near the enemy, and chose to land further off, doubled the cape of Pachynus. He had no sooner passed it, than a furious storm arose, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, which drove his ships to the eastern coast of Africa, where they were in great danger of being dashed to pieces against the rocks. Happily for them, a south wind rising suddenly, contrary to expectation, they unfurled all their sails, and after having made vows to the gods, they stood out to sea for Sicily. They ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa, a small town of Sicily under the Carthaginians, whose commander Synalus was Dion's particular friend and guest. They were perfectly well received, and would have staid there some time to refresh themselves, after the rude fatigues they had suffered during the storm, if they had not been informed that Dionysius was absent, having embarked some days before for the coast of Italy, attended by fourscore vessels. The soldiers demanded earnestly to be led on against the enemy; and Dion, having desired Synalus to send his baggage after him at a proper time, marched directly to Syracuse.

His troops increased considerably upon his route, by the great number of those who came to join him from all parts. The news of his arrival being soon known at Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, and to whom he had left the command of the city in his absence, dispatched a courier to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progress. But the courier, when almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued from having run the best part of the night, that he found himself under the necessity of stopping to take a little sleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the smell of a piece of meat which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the flesh and the bag, in which he had also put his dispatches. Dionysius was by this means prevented for some

time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and then received the news from other hands.

When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs about half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a sacrifice upon the river side, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. All who were present, seeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the sacrifice, crowned themselves also in the same manner, as animated with one and the same spirit. He had been joined on his march by at least five thousand men, and advanced with them towards the city. The most considerable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the same time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the spies and informers, AN ACCURSED RACE OF WRETCHES, *THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN, says Plutarch, who made it the daily business of their lives to disperse themselves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they said or thought, and often what they neither said nor thought. These were the first victims to the fury of the people, and were knocked on the head with clubs immediately. Timocrates, not able to throw himself into the citadel, mounted on horseback, and escaped from the city.

At that instant Dion appeared within sight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one side, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. After him came a hundred of the foreign soldiers, very fine troops, whom he had chosen for his guard. The rest followed in order of battle, with their officers at the head of them. The Syracusans beheld them with inexpressible satisfaction, and received them as a sacred procession, whom the gods themselves re-

* Ἀνθρώπους ἀνοσίους, καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρούς.

garded with pleasure, and who restored them their liberty with the democracy, forty-eight years after they had been banished from their city.

After Dion had made his entry, he ordered the trumpets to sound, to appease the noise and tumult; and silence being made, a herald proclaimed, that "Dion and Megacles were come to abolish the "tyranny, and to free the Syracusans and all the "people of Sicily from the yoke of a tyrant." And being desirous to harangue the people in person, he went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called Achradina. Wherever he passed, the Syracusans had set out, on both sides of the streets, tables and bowls, and had prepared victims; and as he came before their houses, they threw all sorts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to those who had done the people any great and signal services. And can there be any service, any gift, so valuable as that of liberty? Not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapylæ, stood a sun-dial upon a high pedestal, erected by Dionysius. Dion placed himself upon it, and in a speech to the people, who had crowded around, exhorted them to employ their utmost efforts for the recovery and preservation of their liberty. The Syracusans, transported with what he said, and anxious to express their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother captains-general with supreme authority; and by their consent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the most considerable citizens, half of whom were of the number of those who, having been banished by Dionysius, had returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the castle of Epipolæ, he set the citizens who were prisoners in it at liberty, and fortified it with strong works. Dionysius arrived from Italy seven days after, and entered the citadel by sea. The same day a great

number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had left with Synalus. These he immediately distributed amongst the citizens who were unprovided. All the rest armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest ardour and zeal.

Dionysius began by sending ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusans with proposals, which seemed very advantageous. The answer was, that by way of preliminary he must abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionysius did not seem averse. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardour of the Syracusans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly, having made the deputies, who were sent to treat with him, prisoners, he suddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall, with which the Syracusans had surrounded the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an assault put Dion's soldiers into great confusion, and they immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to stop them; and believing example more efficacious than words, he threw himself fiercely into the midst of the enemy, where he stood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a spear; his armour was scarce proof against the great number of darts thrown at him, and his shield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length beaten down. His soldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them, and getting on horseback, rode through the whole city, stopped the flight of the Syracusans, and taking the foreign soldiers, whom he had left to guard the quarter called Achradina, he led them on fresh against Dionysius's troops, who were already fatigued, and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a resistance. It was now no longer a battle, but

a pursuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed on the spot, and the rest escaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was brilliant and glorious. The Syracusans, to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a considerable sum of money; and those soldiers, to honour Dion, presented him with a crown of gold.

Soon after came heralds from Dionysius, with several letters for Dion from the women of his family, and with one from Dionysius himself. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full assembly. That of Dionysius was couched in the form of a request and justification, intermixed however with the most terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to Dion; his sister, wife, and son. It was written with an art and address exceedingly well calculated to render Dion suspected. Dionysius put him in mind of the ardour and zeal he had formerly expressed for the support of the tyranny. He exhorted him in language, though covert and somewhat obscure, yet sufficiently plain to be understood, not to abolish it entirely; but to preserve it for himself: not to give the people their liberty, who at heart had no attachment to him; nor to abandon his own safety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconstant multitude.

[a] The reading of this letter had the effect which Dionysius had proposed from it. The Syracusans, without regard to Dion's goodness to them, and the greatness of his soul in forgetting his dearest interests, and the ties of nature, to restore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious suspicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their sentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the banished persons, a good soldier, and well known amongst the troops, from having been in considerable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a secret enemy

[a] Plut. in Dion. p. 972, 975. Diod. l. xvi. p. 419, 422.

of Dion's, between whom and himself there had been some difference in Peloponnesus. He came to Syracuse with seven galleys of three benches of oars, and three other vessels, not to join Dion, but with the resolution of marching with his own forces against the tyrant, whom he found reduced to shut himself up in the citadel. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people, for which his open and insinuating behaviour made him very fit; whilst Dion's austere gravity was offensive to the multitude; especially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the last victory, and * expected to be treated like a popular state, even before they could call themselves a free people; that is to say, in the full sense of the Greek terms, they wished to be used with complaisance, flattery, regard, and a deference to all their capricious humours.

What gratitude could be expected from a people that consulted only their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracusans, of their own accord, formed an assembly immediately, and chose Heraclides admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of such a proceeding; as the charge conferred upon Heraclides was an abridgment of his office; that he was no longer generalissimo, if another commanded at sea. These remonstrances obliged the Syracusans, against their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had so lately conferred upon him. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for him, and after some gentle reprimands for his strange conduct towards him in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the least division amongst them might ruin every thing, he summoned a new assembly himself, and, in the presence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himself.

He thought by dint of kind offices to get the better of his rival's ill-will. Heraclides, in his expressions and outward behaviour, made his court to

* Πρὸ τε δῆμος εἶναι, τὸ δημαγωγεῖσθαι θέλοντες.

Dion, confessed his obligations to him, promised eternal gratitude, was mean and submissive in his presence, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality which seemed to imply an entire devotion to his service, and a desire of occasions to do him pleasure. But underhand, by his intrigues and cabals, he influenced the people against him, and opposed his designs in every thing. If Dion gave his consent that Dionysius should quit the citadel by treaty, he was accused of favouring, and intending to save him: if, to satisfy them, he continued the siege, without hearkening to any proposals of accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the desire of protracting the war, for the sake of continuing in command, and of keeping the citizens in awe and respect.

Philistus, who came from Apulia to the tyrant's relief with several galleys, having been defeated and put to death, Dionysius sent to offer Dion the citadel with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted by a treaty to retire into Italy for the rest of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. The Syracusans, who were in hopes of taking Dionysius alive, rejected these proposals; and Dionysius, despairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates, and taking the advantage of a favourable wind, embarked for Italy with his treasures and effects of the greatest value, and such of his friends as were dearest to him. A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

Heraclides, who commanded the galleys, was very much blamed for having suffered him to escape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he proposed a new distribution of lands, insinuating, that the foundation of liberty was equality, as poverty was the principle of servitude. Upon Dion's opposing this motion, Heraclides persuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thousand men, to enact a new division of

land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themselves at once from Dion's insupportable severity. The Syracusans agreed, and nominated twenty-five new officers, Heraclides being one of the number.

At the same time they sent privately to solicit the foreign soldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with them, promising to give them a share in the government as native citizens. Those generous troops received the offer with disdain; and then placing Dion in the centre of them, with a fidelity and affection of which there are few examples, they made their bodies and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city without doing the least violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with their ingratitude and perfidy. The Syracusans, who contemned their small number, and attributed their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should defeat and put them all to the sword before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the melancholy necessity of either fighting against his fellow-citizens, or perishing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracusans, imploring them in the most tender and affectionate manner to desist, and pointing to the citadel full of enemies, who saw all that passed with the utmost joy. But finding them deaf and insensible to all his remonstrances, he commanded his soldiers to march in close order without attacking; which they obeyed, contenting themselves with making a great noise with their arms, and raising loud cries, as if they were going to fall upon the Syracusans. The latter were so dismayed with those appearances, that they all ran away in every street without being pursued. Dion hastened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracusans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were desirous to retrieve their honour; and made their troops take arms, and return to the pursuit of Dion. They came up with him at the pass of a river, and made

their horse advance to skirmish. But when they saw that Dion was resolved in earnest to repel their insults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again seized with terror, and taking to their heels in a more shameful manner than before, made all the haste they could to regain the city.

[t] The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and esteem. They also made presents to his soldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which they sent ambassadors to the Syracusans, to demand justice for the ill treatment of those troops; and they on their side sent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracuse was intoxicated with inconsiderate joy and insolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection and judgment.

Every thing conspired to swell and inflame their pride. The citadel was so much reduced by famine, that the soldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much, resolved at last to surrender it. They sent in the night to make that proposal, and were to give it up the next morning. But at day-break, whilst they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypsius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy with corn and money to the besieged, appeared with his galleys, and anchored near Arethusa. Plenty succeeding on a sudden to famine, Nypsius landed his troops, and summoned an assembly, wherein he made a speech to the soldiers suitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of surrendering, was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracusans at the same time hastened on board their galleys, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader or authority to

[t] Plut. p. 975, 981. Diod. p. 422, 423.

command or counsel them, the officers as well as soldiers gave themselves up to rejoicing, feasting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loose excess. Nypsius knew well how to take advantage of this general infatuation. He attacked the wall that enclosed the citadel, and having made himself master of it, he demolished it in several places, and permitted his soldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmost confusion. Here, the citizens half asleep, had their throats cut; there, houses were plundered, whilst the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations.

There was but one man who could remedy this misfortune and preserve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propose it; so much ashamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increased every moment, and already approached the quarter Achradina, in the height of their extremity and despair, a voice was heard from the cavalry and allies, which said, "That it was absolutely necessary to recall Dion "and the Peloponnesian troops from the country of "the Leontines." As soon as any body had courage enough to utter those words, they were the general cry of the Syracusans, who with tears of joy and grief offered up prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of seeing him again, gave them new courage, and enabled them to make head against the enemy. The deputies set out immediately with full speed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening.

As soon as they alighted, they threw themselves at Dion's feet, bathed in their tears, and related the deplorable extremity to which the Syracusans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and several of the Peloponnesian soldiers, who had seen them arrive, were already got round Dion, and rightly conceived, from their earnestness and humiliating pos-

ture, that something very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no sooner heard what they had to say, than he carried them with him to the assembly, which formed itself immediately; for the people ran thither with abundance of eagerness. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatness of their distress, and implored the foreign troops "to hasten to the relief of the Syracusans, "and to forget the ill treatment they had received; "and the rather, because that unfortunate people "had already paid a severer penalty for it, than "the most injured amongst them would desire to "impose."

The deputies having finished their discourse, the whole theatre, where the assembly was held, continued in mournful silence. Dion rose: but as soon as he began to speak, a torrent of tears suppressed his utterance. The foreign soldiers called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion for his grief. At length, having recovered himself a little, he spoke to them in these terms: "Men of Peloponnesus, and you our allies, I have "assembled you here, that you might deliberate "upon what regards yourselves; as for my part, I "must not deliberate when Syracuse is in danger. "If I cannot preserve it, I go to perish with it, "and to bury myself in its ruins. But for you, "if you are resolved to assist us once more; us, "who are the most imprudent and most unfortunate of mankind; come and relieve the city of "Syracuse, from henceforth the work of your hands. "But if the just subjects of complaint which you "have against the Syracusans determine you to "abandon them in their present condition, and to "suffer them to perish; may you receive from the "immortal gods the reward you merit for the "affection and fidelity which you have hitherto "expressed for me. For the rest, I have only "to desire that you will keep Dion in your "remembrance, who did not abandon you when

" unworthily treated by his countrymen, and who " did not abandon his countrymen when fallen in- " to misfortunes."

He had no sooner ceased speaking, than the foreign soldiers rose up with loud cries, and entreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuse. The deputies, transported with joy, saluted and embraced them, praying the gods to bestow upon Dion and them all kind of happiness and prosperity. When the tumult was appeased, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and as soon as they had supped, to return with their arms to the same place, being determined to set out the same night, and fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time at Syracuse the officers of Dionysius, after having done all the mischief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loss of some of their soldiers. This short respite gave the seditious orators new courage. Flattering themselves that the enemy would lie still after what they had done, they exhorted the Syracusans to think no further of Dion, nor to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were instantly dispatched from the general officers to Dion to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends to desire him to hasten his march; which difference of sentiments and contrariety of advices occasioned his advancing slowly, and by short marches.

When the night was far spent, Dion's enemies seized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the same instant, Nypsius, well apprised of all that passed in Syracuse, made a sally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They entirely demolished the wall that enclosed them, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but slaughter and blood was seen every where. Nor did they stop for

the pillage, but seemed to have no other view than to ruin and destroy all before them. One would have thought, that the son of Dionysius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to despair, and prompted by envenomed hatred for the Syracusans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it, they had recourse to fire, the swiftest instrument of destruction, burning, with torches and lighted straw, all places within their power, and darting combustibles against the rest. The Syracusans who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the streets; and those who to shun the murderous sword retired into the houses, were driven out of them again by the encroaching fire; for there were abundance of houses burning, and many that fell upon the people in the streets.

These very flames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates shut against him. Couriers after couriers were dispatched to hasten his march. Heraclides himself, his most declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmost speed to their assistance, there being no one who was able to make head against the enemy, he himself being wounded, and the city almost entirely ruined and reduced to ashes.

Dion received this news when he was about sixty * stadia from the gates. His soldiers upon that occasion marched with the utmost diligence, and with so good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He entered by the quarter called *Hecatompedon*. He there detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, to reanimate the Syracusans by the sight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens who came running to join him on all sides. He divided them into small parties, of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of

* Two or three leagues.

them, that they might be capable of attacking in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy.

After having made these dispositions, and offered up his prayers to the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy. In every street as he passed he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and songs of victory, mingled with the prayers and blessings of all the Syracusans, who called Dion their preserver and their god, and his soldiers their brothers and fellow citizens. At that instant, there was not a single man in the city so fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's safety than his own, and not to fear much more for him than for all the rest together, seeing him march foremost to so great a danger, over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the streets and squares were universally covered.

On the other hand, the view of the enemy was no less terrible: for they were animated by rage and despair, and were posted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under the necessity of defending the citadel, which was their safety and retreat, and durst not remove from it, lest their communication should be cut off. But what was most capable of disordering and discouraging Dion's soldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For, wherever they turned themselves, they marched by the light of the houses in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midst of fires; exposing themselves to being crushed in pieces by the fall of walls, beams, and roofs of houses, which tottered half consumed by the flames, and under the necessity of keeping their ranks, whilst they opened their way through frightful clouds of smoke mingled with dust.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very small number on each side were capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the uneven-

ness of the ground. But at length Dion's soldiers, encouraged and supported by the cries and ardour of the Syracusans, charged the enemy with such redoubled vigour, that the troops of Nypsius gave way. The greatest part of them escaped into the citadel, which was very near; and those who remained without, being broken, were cut to pieces in the pursuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner so great an exploit deserved; the Syracusans being obliged to employ themselves in rescuing their houses, and to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire; which, however, they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the seditious orators durst stay in the city, but all fled self-condemned, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill conduct: that it became Dion, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to show himself equally so in greatness of soul, by subduing his resentment and revenge, and forgiving the ungrateful, who owned themselves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made these supplications, Dion's friends advised him not to spare men of their vile and malignant disposition; but to abandon Heraclides to the soldiers, and in so doing, exterminate from the state that spirit of sedition and intrigue; a distemper that has really something of madness in it, and is no less to be feared from its pernicious consequences than tyranny itself. But Dion, to appease them, said, "That other captains "generally made the means of conquering their "enemies their sole study; that for his part, he had "passed much time in the Academy, in learning "to subdue anger, envy, and all the jarring passions

" of the mind: that the sign of having conquered " them is not kindness and affability to friends and " persons of merit; but treating those with huma- " nity who have injured us, and in being always " ready to forgive them: that he did not desire " so much to appear superior to Heraclides in power " and ability, as in wisdom and justice; for in that, " true and essential superiority consists: that if " Heraclides be wicked, invidious, and perfidious, " must Dion contaminate and dishonour himself " by base resentment? It is true, according to hu- " man laws, there seems to be less injustice in re- " venging an injury, than committing it; but if we " consult nature, we shall find both the one and " the other to have their rise in the same weakness " of mind. Besides, there is no disposition so ob- " durate and savage, but may be vanquished by the " force of kind usage and obligations." Dion, influenced by these maxims, pardoned Heraclides.

He engaged next in enclosing the citadel with a new work, and he ordered each of the Syracusans to go and cut a large stake. In the night, he set his soldiers to work, whilst the Syracusans took their rest. He surrounded the citadel in this manner with a strong palisade, before it was perceived; so that in the morning, the greatness of the work, and the suddenness of the execution, were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the enemy as the citizens.

Having finished this palisade, he buried the dead; and dismissing the prisoners taken from the enemy, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides proposed in it, that Dion should be elected generalissimo with supreme authority by sea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable of the citizens, were pleased with the proposal, and desired that it might have the sanction of the assembly. But the mariners and artisans, who were sorry that Heraclides should lose the office of admiral; and convinced that, however little estimable he

might be in all other respects, he would at least be more for the people than Dion, opposed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid exasperating them, did not insist upon that point, and reinstated Heraclides in his command-in-chief at sea. But his opposing the distribution of lands and houses, which they were anxious should take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, embroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues against Dion; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himself master of Syracuse, and to shut the gates upon his rival. But it proved unsuccessful. A Spartan, who had been sent to the aid of Syracuse, negociated a new accommodation between Heraclides and Dion, under the strictest oaths, and the strongest assurances of obedience on the side of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and probity.

The Syracusans having dismissed their sea forces, who were become unnecessary, applied solely to the siege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the besieged, and bread began to fall short with them, the soldiers grew mutinous, and would no longer observe any discipline. The son of Dionysius, finding himself without hope or resource, entered into a capitulation with Dion, by which he surrendered to him the citadel, with all the arms and other warlike stores. He carried his mother and sisters away with him, filled five galleys with his followers and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to withdraw unmolested. It is easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all hurried to the port to gratify their eyes with so agreeable a spectacle, and to solemnize the joyful day, on which, after so many years' servitude, the sun arose for the first time upon the liberty of Syracuse.

Apollocrates having set sail, and Dion beginning his march to enter the citadel, the princesses, who were there, did not stay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Aristomache led the son of Dion; after whom came Arete, his wife, with her eyes fixed upon the ground and full of tears. Dion embraced his sister first, and afterwards his son. Aristomache then presenting Arete to him, spoke thus: "The tears you see her shed, "at the time that your presence restores us life "and joy, the shame expressed in her looks, her "silence itself, and her confusion, sufficiently de- "note the grief with which she is penetrated, at the "sight of a husband, to whom another has been "substituted contrary to her will, but who alone "has always possessed her heart. Shall she salute "you as her uncle, shall she embrace you as her "husband?" Aristomache having spoken in this manner, Dion, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced his wife; gave his son again into her arms, and sent them home to his house; because he thought proper to give up the citadel to the Syracusans, as greater evidence of their liberty.

For himself, after having rewarded with a truly royal magnificence all those who had contributed to his success, each according to their rank and merit; at the height of glory and happiness, and the object of admiration not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece, who esteemed him the wisest and most fortunate captain that ever lived, he still retained his original simplicity; as modest and plain in his garb, equipage, and table, as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with people bred in armies, with officers and soldiers, who often breathe nothing but pleasures and magnificence. Accordingly, at the time that Plato wrote to him, "That the eyes of all mankind were "upon him alone;" little affected with that general admiration, his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that school of wisdom and virtue,

where exploits and successes were judged of, not from the external splendour and noise with which they are attended, but from the wise and moderate use which is made of them.

Dion designed to establish a form of government in Syracuse, composed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the aristocracy was always to prevail, and to decide the most important affairs, by the authority, which, according to his plan, was to be vested in a council of elders. Heraclides again opposed him in this scheme, still turbulent and seditious as usual, and solely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, caresses, and other popular arts. One day, when Dion sent for him to the council, he answered that he would not come; and that, being only a private person, he should be in the assembly with the rest of the citizens, whenever it was summoned. His view, in such behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated insults, permitted those to kill him whom he had formerly prevented. They accordingly went to his house and dispatched him. We shall see presently Dion's own sense of this action.

The Syracusans were deeply affected with his death; but as Dion solemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in person at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occasion, they were appeased, and forgave him the murder; convinced that it was impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition, whilst Heraclides and Dion governed together.

"After that murder Dion never knew joy nor peace of mind. A hideous spectre, which he saw in the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The phantom seemed a woman of enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and hag-

[a] Plut. p. 981, 983. Diod. p. 432.

gard looks, resembled a fury, and who swept his house with violence. His son's death, who for some unknown grief had thrown himself from the roof of a house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Callippus gave the finishing stroke to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship whilst he lodged in his house at Athens, and with whom he had lived ever after in an entire freedom and unbounded confidence. Callippus, having given himself up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse, threw off all regard for the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, and devised how to get rid of Dion, who was the sole obstacle to his designs. Notwithstanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ears of Dion's sister and wife, who lost no time, and spared no pains, to discover the truth by a very strict inquiry. To prevent its effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconsolable, that any body should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the "great oath," as it was called. The person who swore it, was wrapped in the purple mantle of the goddess Proserpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the most dreadful execrations against himself which it is possible to imagine.

The oath cost him nothing, but did not convince the princesses. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from several hands, as did Dion himself, and all his friends in general persuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a just and sudden punishment. But he never could resolve upon it. The death of Heraclides, which he looked upon as a horrible blot upon his reputation and virtue, was perpetually present to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrors his grief and repentance.

Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he professed that he had rather die a thousand deaths, and present his throat himself to whoever would kill him, than live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends.

Callippus ill deserved that name. He hastened to the execution of his crime, and caused Dion to be assassinated in his own house by some Zacynthian soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest. The sister and wife of that prince were put into prison, where the latter was delivered of a son, which she resolved to nurse there herself.

After this murder, Callippus was for some time in a splendid condition, having made himself master of Syracuse by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his service, and whom he had gained by the gifts he bestowed upon them. The Pagans believed, that the Divinity ought to punish great crimes in a sudden and extraordinary manner in this life; and Plutarch observes, that the success of Callippus occasioned very great complaints against the gods, as if they suffered calmly, and without indignation, the vilest of men to raise himself to so exalted a fortune by so detestable and impious a method. But Providence was not long without justifying itself, for Callippus soon suffered the punishment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catana, Syracuse revolted against him, and threw off the yoke of so shameful a subjection. He afterwards attacked Messina, where he lost abundance of men, and particularly all the Zacynthian soldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him, but all detesting him as the most execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was killed by Leptines and Polyperchon, and, it was said, with the same dagger with which Dion had been assassinated.

A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

History has few examples of so striking an attention of Providence to punish great crimes, such as murder, perfidy, treason, either in the authors of those crimes themselves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices who were any way concerned in them. The divine justice displays itself from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occasion; but it does not always distinguish itself by remarkable chastisements in this world, to intimate to mankind, that greater punishments are reserved for guilt in the next.

As for Aristomache and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Icetas of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, received them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most exemplary kind, had he persevered: but complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and having put them on board, under the pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were to carry them, to kill them on the voyage, and to throw them into the sea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery, for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two daughters of that traitor.

[x] The relations and friends of Dion, soon after his death, had written to Plato, to consult him upon the manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what sort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew the Syracusans were equally incapable of entire liberty or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as soon as possible, and for that purpose, to change the tyranny, of which the very

[x] Plat. Ep. viii.

name was odious, into a lawful sovereignty, which would make subjection easy and agreeable. He advised them (and according to him, it had been Dion's opinion) to create three kings, one to be Hipparinus, Dion's son; another Hipparinus, Dionysius the Younger's brother, who seemed to be well inclined towards the people; and Dionysius himself, if he would comply with such conditions as should be prescribed him; and to invest them with an authority not much unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the same scheme, thirty-five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duly observed; these were to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to serve as a balance between the power of the kings, the senate, and the people.

It does not appear that this advice was ever followed, and indeed it had great inconveniences. It is only known, that Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, having landed at Syracuse with a fleet and considerable forces, expelled Callippus, and exercised the sovereign power two years.

The history of Sicily, which I have related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionysius the Elder, who reigned thirty-eight, to the death of Dion.

SECT. IV. *Character of Dion.*

IT is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person as were united in Dion. I do not consider, in this place, his wonderful taste for the sciences, his art of associating them with the greatest employments of war and peace, of extracting from them the rules of conduct and maxims of government, and of making them an equally useful and honourable entertainment of his leisure; I confine myself to the statesman and patriot; and in this

[y] Diod. l. xvi. p. 436.

view, how admirable does he appear! Greatness of soul, elevation of sentiments, generosity in bestowing his wealth, heroic valour in battle, attended with a coolness of temper, and a prudence scarce to be paralleled; a mind vast and capable of the highest views, a constancy not to be shaken by the greatest dangers or the most unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his country and of the public good carried almost to excess; these are part of Dion's virtues. The design he formed of delivering his country from the yoke of tyranny, and his boldness and wisdom in the execution of it, show us of what he was capable.

But what I conceive the greatest beauty in Dion's character, the most worthy of admiration, and, if I may say so, the most above human nature, is the greatness of soul, and unexampled patience, with which he suffered the ingratitude of his countrymen. He had abandoned and sacrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-establishing them in the full possession of their liberty: in return for such great services, they shamefully expel him the city, accompanied with a handful of foreign soldiers, whose fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add to their base perfidy the most cruel outrages and indignity: to punish those ungrateful traitors he had only a signal to give, and to leave the rest to the indignation of his soldiers: master of their temper, as well as his own, he curbs their impetuosity, and, without disarming their hands, restrains their just rage, suffering them, in the very height and ardour of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill, his enemies, because he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There seems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having something rigid and austere in his temper, that made him less accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept

even persons of worth and his best friends at a kind of distance. Plato, and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, had often warned him of this. But notwithstanding the reproaches which were made him upon his too austere gravity, and the inflexible severity with which he treated the people, he still piqued himself upon making no abatement of them: whether his natural disposition was entirely averse to the arts of insinuation and persuasion; or that from the view of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaisant discourses of their orators, he thought fit to employ that rough and manly manner of behaviour towards them.

Dion was mistaken in the most essential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the * art of managing men's tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best suit his measures; which cannot be done by harshly domineering over them, by commanding haughtily, and contenting oneself with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible rigour. There is, even in worth itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice when carried into extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules, but it is always laudable, and often necessary, to soften and make them more pliant; which is best affected by mildness of demeanour, and an insinuating behaviour; not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its utmost rigour; overlooking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice, and animadverting upon those which are more considerable, with favour and mildness: in a word, in endeavouring by all possible means to acquire

* Which art an ancient poet called *flexanima, atque omnium regina rerum oratio.* Cic. l. de divin. n. 80.

people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him, contrary to his natural disposition as well as principles, cost him dear, and brought that trouble and anguish upon him that lasted to the day of his death, and of which they were the principal cause.

SECT. V. *Dionysius the Younger reascends the throne. Syracuse implores aid of the Corinthians, who send Timoleon. That general enters Syracuse, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Icetas to prevent him. Dionysius surrenders himself to him, and retires to Corinth.*

A. M. 3647. Ant. J. C. 357. [z]CALLIPPUS, who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, did not possess his power long. Thirteen months after, Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal sovereignty, which he held during two years.

A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. Syracuse and all Sicily, being harassed by different factions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition. Dionysius taking advantage of those troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nypsæus, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions.

[a] It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-establishment, and to express his gratitude to them, that he sent statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphi of very great value. The galleys which carried them were taken by Iphicrates, who was at

[z] Diod. l. xvi. p. 432—436. [a] Ibid. p. 453.

that time near [b] Corcyra with a fleet. He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he should dispose of this sacred booty, and was answered, that he need not examine scrupulously for what it was designed, but make use of it for the subsistence of his troops. Dionysius complained bitterly of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote, wherein he reproached them, with great warmth and justice, for their avarice and sacrilegious impiety.

[c] A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly and more religiously towards the Romans about fifty years before. The latter, after the taking of Veii, the siege of which had lasted ten years, sent a golden cup to Delphi. The deputies who carried that present were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the * custom to divide among the citizens all the prizes they took, as a common stock. The island at that time was under the government of a magistrate more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called Timasitheus, † and his behaviour agreed well with the signification of his name. Full of respect for their character of envoys, the sacred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and still more for the majesty of the god for whom it was designed, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all possible marks of distinction, and

[b] Corfu. [c] Liv. Decad. l. v. c. 28. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307.

* *Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio, partam prædam dividere. Fortè eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior quam suis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, et deum cui mitteretur, et doni causam veritus ipse, multitudinem quoque, quæ semper fermè regenti est similis, religionis justæ implevit; adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos cum præsidio etiam navium Delphos prosecutos, Romam inde sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatusconsulto est factum, donaque publice data.* Tit. Liv.

† Timasitheus signifies one who honours the gods.

their expences borne by the public. Timasitheus convoyed them with a strong squadron to Delphi, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly the Romans were affected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the senate they rewarded Timasitheus with great presents, and granted him the right of hospitality. And more than a hundred and fifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians, with the same gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themselves obliged to do further honour to the family of their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendants should be for ever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the other inhabitants of that island.

This was certainly great and noble on both sides: but the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

To return to Dionysius.—Though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions evinced no humanity for his subjects. His past misfortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to inflame it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

[d] The most worthy and considerable of the citizens, not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had had recourse to Icetas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, had elected him their general; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the most avowed tyrants, but because they had no other resource.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who were almost always at war with the Syracusans, having arrived in Sicily with a great fleet, had already made a great progress there. The Sicilians and the people of Syracuse resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracusans were

[d] Diod. l. xvi. p. 459 & 464. Plut. in Timol. p. 236 & 243.

descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants in favour of liberty. Icetas, who proposed no other end from his command than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had no thoughts of setting it free, treated secretly with the Carthaginians, though in public he affected to praise the wise measures of the Syracusans, and even sent his deputies along with theirs.

Corinth received the ambassadors perfectly well, decreed that aid should be sent to the Syracusans, and immediately appointed Timoleon general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in public affairs, and was far from believing, that at his age, and in the circumstances he then was, he should be thought on upon such an occasion. A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

He was decended from one of the noblest families of Corinth, loved his country passionately, and discovered upon all occasions a singular humanity of temper, except against tyrants and bad men. He was an excellent captain; and as in his youth he had possessed all the maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and courage of the most ardent youth.

He had an elder brother called Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonstrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and saved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was still dearer to him. That brother having made himself tyrant of it, so black a crime gave him the sharpest affliction. He made use of all possible means to bring him back to his duty; kindness, friendship, affection, remonstrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon a heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be assassinated in his presence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought that, upon such an occasion, the laws of nature ought to give place to those of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by most of the

philosophers, who looked upon it as the most noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch seems to pass the same judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion, and some people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon himself. His mother especially, in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to console her, not being able to bear the sight of her son's murderer, she thrust him away with indignation, and shut her doors against him.

He was then struck with all the horror of his guilt, and giving himself up to the most bitter remorse, considered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and resolved to put an end to his life, by abstaining from all nourishment. It was with great difficulty his friends dissuaded him from that fatal resolution. Overcome by their prayers and entreaties, he was at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs, and for several years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desert places, abandoned to excess of grief and melancholy. So true it is, that neither the praises of flatterers, nor the false reasonings of politicians, can suppress the cries of conscience, which is at once the witness, judge, and executioner of those who dare to violate the most sacred rights and ties of nature!

He passed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth at the latter part of that time, but lived there always private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration of the government. It was not without great repugnance that he accepted the employment of general, but he did not think it allowable to refuse the service of his country, and his duty prevailed against his inclination.

Whilst Timoleon assembled his troops, and was preparing to sail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetas, in which he told them, "That it was "not necessary for them to make any further "levies, nor to exhaust themselves in great ex- "pences to come to Sicily, and expose themselves "to evident danger; that the Carthaginians, ap- "prised of their design, were waiting to intercept "their squadron in its passage with a great fleet; "and that their slowness in sending their troops, "had obliged him to call in the Carthaginians "themselves to his aid, and to make use of them "against the tyrant." He had made a secret treaty with them, by which it was stipulated, that after the expulsion of Dionysius from Syracuse, he should take possession of it in his place.

The reading of these letters, far from cooling the zeal of the Corinthians, only incensed them still more, and hastened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked with ten galleys, and arrived safe upon the coast of Italy: here the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and discouraged his troops. An account was brought, that Icetas had defeated Dionysius; and having made himself master of the greatest part of Syracuse, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel, and in that quarter called the *Isle*, where he besieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach and landing, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they should have compelled that general to retire.

And indeed the Carthaginians had sent twenty galleys to Rhegium. The Corinthians upon their arrival at that port, found ambassadors from Icetas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuse, and would be well received there, provided he dismissed his troops. The proposal was an absolute insult, and at the same time more perplexing. It seemed impossible to beat the vessels which the barbarians had caused to advance to

intercept them in their passage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon to extreme distress the whole of Sicily, which could not avoid being the reward of Icetas's treachery, and of the support which the Carthaginians should give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian squadron in the presence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he said, to exonerate himself, and for his own security, that his country might not accuse him of having disobeyed its orders, and betrayed its interests. There was a secret understanding between him and the governor and magistrates of Rhegium. They desired nothing more than to see the Corinthians in possession of Sicily, and apprehended nothing so much as the neighbourhood of the barbarians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order that they might devote their attention solely to the present affair.

The people being assembled, long speeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the same subject, and repeating the same reasons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to gain time. Whilst this was doing, nine of the Corinthian galleys went off, and were suffered by the Carthaginian vessels to pass, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers who were in the city, and that those nine galleys were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Icetas's army at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whisper, that his galleys were at sea, he slipped gently through the crowd, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the tribunal. He got to the sea-side, embarked directly; and having rejoined his galleys, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a city of Sicily, where they were received with open

arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to reinstate the Sicilians in their liberties.

It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprised and ashamed of being so deceived: but, as somebody told them, being Phœnicians (who passed for the greatest cheats in the world), fraud and artifice ought not to give them so much astonishment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Icetas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian galleys advance. They had a hundred and fifty long ships, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred armed chariots. The Syracusans lost all hope when they saw the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Icetas master of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than a nook of its coast, the small city of Tauromenium, with little hope and less force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thousand soldiers, and he had scarce provisions for their subsistence. Besides which, the cities placed no confidence in him. The ills they had lately suffered from the extortion and cruelty that had been practised amongst them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Callippus and Pharax; who being both sent, the one from Athens and the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and desirable, so severe were the vexations with which they had oppressed them. They were afraid of experiencing the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a small city below mount Ætna, being divided amongst themselves, one party had called in Icetas and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timoleon. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with near five thousand men, and the other with only twelve

hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, Timoleon, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in disorder, and employed in taking up their quarters and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without losing time to rest them, as the officers advised him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no sooner saw him than they took to flight. This occasioned their killing only three hundred, and taking twice as many prisoners; but the Carthaginians lost their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the same time, and received Timoleon. Other cities sent their deputies to him soon after, and made their submission.

Dionysius himself, who renounced his vain hopes, and saw himself at the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for Icetas, who had suffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for Timoleon, sent ambassadors to the latter, to treat of surrendering himself and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking advantage of so unexpected a good fortune, made Euclid and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers, with four hundred soldiers, file off into the castle; not all at once, nor in the day-time, that being impossible, the Carthaginians being masters of the harbour, but in small bodies, and by stealth. Those troops, having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it with all the tyrant's effects, and all the stores he had laid up there. For he had a considerable number of horse, all sorts of warlike engines and darts, besides seventy thousand suits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionysius had also two thousand regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to Timoleon. And for himself, taking with him his money and some few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Icetas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon.

It was the first time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private per-

son and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had seen himself master of the most powerful kingdom that ever had been usurped by tyrants. He had possessed it for ten whole years before Dion took arms against him, and for some years after that, though always in the midst of wars and battles. He was sent to Corinth with only one galley, without convoy, and with very little money. He served there for a sight, every body running to gaze at him; some with a secret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition from which he had fallen, with the unfathomable abyss of distress into which they beheld him plunged. A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

His conduct at Corinth no longer excited any sentiments towards him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in the perfumers' shops, in taverns, with courtezans, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them upon the rules of music and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought that he behaved in such a manner through policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, nor to suffer any thought or desire of recovering his dominions to be discovered. But such an opinion does him too much honour; and it seems more probable, that, nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauchery, he only followed his inclination, and that he passed his life, in the kind of slavery into which he was fallen, as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

[e] Some writers say, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth obliged him to open a school there, and to teach children to read; perhaps, says Cicero,* without doubt jestingly, to

[e] Cic. Tusc. Quæst, l. iii. n. 27.

* *Dionysius Corinthi pueros docebat, usque adeò imperio carere non poterat.*

retain still a species of empire, and not absolutely to renounce the habit and pleasure of commanding. [f] Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain that Dionysius, who had seen himself master of Syracuse and of almost all Sicily, who had possessed immense riches, and had had numerous fleets and great armies of horse and foot under his command; that the same Dionysius,* reduced now almost to beggary, and from a king become a schoolmaster, was a good lesson for persons of exalted stations, warning them not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their fortune. This was the admonition which the Lacedæmonians some time after gave Philip. [g] That prince having written to them in very haughty and menacing terms, they made him no other answer, than *Dionysius at Corinth.*

An expression of Dionysius, which has been preserved, seems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good use of his adversity, and to turn his misfortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praise, but contrary to what has been related of him before. [h] Whilst he lived at Corinth, a stranger rallied him unseasonably, and with an indecent rudeness, upon the intercourse which he had kept up with the philosophers during his most splendid fortune, and asked him by way of insult, "Of what advantage all the wisdom of Plato "had been to him?" "Can you believe then," replied he, "that I have received no benefit from Plato, "when you see me bear ill fortune as I do?"

[f] Val. Max. l. vi.
[g] Demet. Phaler. de Elocut. l. viii.
[h] Plut. in Timol. p. 243.

* *Tantâ mutatione majores natu, nequis nimis fortunæ crederet, magister ludi factus ex tyranno docuit.*

SECT. VI. *Timoleon, after several victories, restores liberty to Syracuse, where he institutes wise laws. He resigns his authority, and passes the rest of his life in retirement. His death. Honours paid to his memory.*

[1] AFTER the retreat of Dionysius, Icetas pressed the siege of the citadel of Syracuse with the utmost vigour, and kept it so closely blocked up, that the convoys sent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, threw them in thither frequently. To deprive them of this resource, Icetas and Mago set out together with design to besiege that place. During their absence, Leon the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the ramparts that those who had been left to continue the siege were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden furious sally upon them, whilst they were dispersed, killed part of them, put the rest to flight, and seized the quarter of the city called *Achradina*, which was the strongest part of it, and that which had been least injured by the enemy. Leon fortified it in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication. A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346.

This bad news caused Mago and Icetas to return immediately. At the same time a body of troops from Corinth landed safe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron, which was posted to intercept them. When they were landed, Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken possession of Messina, marched in battle-array against Syracuse. His army consisted of only four thousand men. When he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries amongst

[1] Plut. in Timol. p. 243—248. Diod. l. xvi. p. 465, 474.

the soldiers that bore arms for Icetas. They represented to them, that it was highly shameful for Greeks, as they were, to endeavour to deliver up Syracuse and all Sicily to the Carthaginians, the wickedest and most cruel of all barbarians: that Icetas had only to join Timoleon, and that in concert with him they would soon overwhelm the common enemy. Those soldiers, having spread these insinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent suspicions of his being betrayed; besides which, he had already for some time sought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the entreaties and warm remonstrances of Icetas, he weighed anchor, and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with so much vigour and success, that Icetas's troops were universally overthrown and put to flight. Thus, by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was at that time one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not act like Dion, in sparing the forts and public edifices on account of their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of suspicion, which at first had raised distrust, though without foundation, against that great man, and at length had ruined him, he caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that all Syracusans who would come with their tools, might employ themselves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In consequence of which, the Syracusans, considering that proclamation and day as the happy commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes, and not only demolished the citadel, but the palaces of the tyrants; breaking open their tombs at the same time, which they also threw down and destroyed.

The citadel being rased, and the ground made

level, Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation of justice in the name of the people; that the same place from whence, under the tyrants, every day some bloody edict had issued, might become the asylum and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was master of the city; but it wanted people to inhabit it; for some having perished in the wars and seditions, and others having fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuse was become a desert, and the grass was grown so high in the streets, that horses grazed in them. Almost all the cities of Sicily were in the same condition. Timoleon and the Syracusans therefore found it necessary to write to Corinth, to desire that people might be sent from Greece to inhabit Syracuse; that otherwise the country could never recover itself, especially as it was moreover threatened with a new war. For they had received advice, that, Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himself so ill of his commission, had hung up his body upon a cross, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army at the beginning of the year.

Those letters being arrived with the ambassadors from Syracuse, who conjured the Corinthians to take compassion of their city, and to be a second time the founders of it; the Corinthians did not consider the calamity of that people as an occasion of aggrandizing themselves, and of making themselves masters of the city, according to the maxims of a base and infamous policy; but sending to all the sacred games of Greece, and to all public assemblies, they caused proclamation to be made in them by heralds, that the Corinthians having abolished the tyranny in Syracuse, and expelled the tyrants, declared free and independent the Syracusans, and all the people of Sicily, who should return into their own country; and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and just distribution of the

lands amongst them. At the same time they dispatched couriers into Asia, and into all the isles, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as soon as possible to Corinth, which would provide them vessels, commanders, and a safe convoy, to transport them into their country at its own expence.

Upon this proclamation Corinth received universal praises and blessings, as it justly deserved. It was every where proclaimed, that Corinth had delivered Syracuse from the tyrants, had preserved it from falling into the hands of the barbarians, and restored it to its citizens. It is not necessary to insist here upon the grandeur of so noble and generous an action: the mere relation of it must make upon the mind of every one that impression that always results from what is great and noble; and every body must own, that never conquest or triumph equalled the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by so perfect and magnanimous a disinterestedness.

Those who came to Corinth, not being sufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece, to augment this new kind of colony. Having obtained their request, and finding themselves increased to at least ten thousand, they embarked for Syracuse, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had already joined Timoleon. It is said their number amounted to sixty thousand and upwards. Timoleon distributed the lands amongst them *gratis*; but sold the houses, with which he raised a very great sum; leaving to the old inhabitants the power of redeeming their own: and by this means he collected a considerable fund for such of the people as were poor, and unable to support either their own necessities or the charges of the war.

The statues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily, were put up to sale; but first they were cited to trial, and regularly proceeded against in due form of law.

One alone escaped the rigour of this enquiry, and was preserved; which was that of Gelon, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians near Himera, and had governed the people with lenity and justice; for which his memory was still cherished and honoured. If all statues were made to undergo the same scrutiny, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

[k] History has preserved another sentence passed also in regard to a statue, but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excuse the digression. Nicon, a champion of Thasos,* had been crowned fourteen hundred times victor in the solemn games of Greece. A man of such merit could not fail of being envied. After his death, one of his competitors insulted his statue, and gave it several blows; to revenge, perhaps, those he had formerly received from him it represented. But the statue, as if sensible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the person that insulted it, and killed him. The son of him who had been crushed to death proceeded juridically against the statue, as guilty of homicide, and punishable by the law of Draco. That famous legislator of Athens, to inspire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained that even inanimate things should be destroyed, whose fall should occasion the death of a man. The Thasians, conformably to this law, decreed that the statue should be thrown into the sea. But some years after, being afflicted with a great famine, and having consulted the oracle of Delphi, they caused it to be taken out of the sea, and rendered new honours to it.

Syracuse being thus raised in a manner from the grave, and people flocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, desirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and of finally extirpating tyranny and tyrants

[k] Suidas in Νίκων. Pausan. l. 6. p. 364.

* An island in the Ægean sea.

out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Icetas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolish his forts, and to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines. Leptines, tyrant of Apollonia and of several other cities and fortresses, seeing himself in danger of being taken by force, surrendered himself. Timoleon spared his life, and sent him to Corinth. For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let all Greece see the tyrants of Sicily in a state of humiliation, and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuse, to regulate the government, and to institute such laws as should be most important and necessary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent to him by the Corinthians; for he had not the weakness to desire unlimited power, and the sole administration. But on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get something for themselves, and to keep them in exercise at the same time, he sent them, under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into all the places subject to the Carthaginians. Those troops brought over several cities from the barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with considerable sums of money, which was of great service in the support of the war.

[1] About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, under Asdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, and a thousand transports, laden with machines, armed chariots, horses, ammunition, and provisions. They proposed no less than the entire expulsion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing; and though he could raise only six or seven thousand men, so great was the people's terror, he marched with that small body of troops against the formidable army of the enemy,

[1] Plut. in Timol. p. 248, 255.

and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimesus; an account of which may be found in the history of the Carthaginians.[m] Timoleon returned to Syracuse amidst shouts of joy and universal applauses.

He had before effected the conquest and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical disposition. They united together, and formed a powerful league against him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and soon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all suffer the just punishment their revolt deserved. Icetas, amongst others, with his son, were put to death as tyrants and traitors. His wife and daughters, having been sent to Syracuse and brought before the assembly of the people, were also sentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, designed to avenge Dion, their first deliverer, by that decree. For it was the same Icetas who had caused Arete, Dion's wife, his sister Aristomache, and his son an infant, to be thrown into the sea.

Virtue is seldom or never without those who envy it. Two accusers summoned Timoleon to answer for his conduct before the judges; and having assigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded sureties of him. The people expressed great indignation against such a proceeding, and would have dispensed with so great a man's observing the usual formalities; this, however, he strongly opposed giving for his reason, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due course. He was accused of malversation during his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himself the trouble to refute those calumnies, only replied: "That he thanked the gods, "for that they had heard his prayers, and that he "at length saw the Syracusans enjoy an entire

[m] Vol. I.

" liberty of saying every thing; a liberty absolutely " unknown to them under the tyrants, but which " it was just to confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wise laws, had purged all Sicily of the tyrants which had so long infested it, had re-established peace and security universally, and supplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of reinstating themselves. After such glorious actions, which had acquired him an unbounded credit, he voluntarily quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracusans had given him the best house in the city, in gratitude for his great services, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally resided with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become his country. He had the prudence by resigning every thing to shelter himself also entirely from envy, which never fails to attend exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however great and substantial. He shunned the rock on which the greatest men, through an insatiate lust of honours and power, are often shipwrecked; that is, by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by choosing rather to sink under, than to lay down, the weight of them.*

Timoleon, who knew all the value of † a noble and glorious leisure, acted in a different manner. He passed the rest of his life as a private person, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such a numerous people, indebted to him for their happiness and tranquillity. But he was always respected, and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of land, nor regulation of government, seemed well done, if Timoleon had not been consulted, and put the last hand to it.

* *Malunt deficere, quàm desinere.* Quintil.

† *Otium cum dignitate.* Cic.

His age was tried with a very sensible affliction, which he supported with astonishing patience; it was the loss of sight. That accident, far from lessening the consideration and regard of the people towards him, served only to augment them. The Syracusans did not content themselves with paying him frequent visits, they conducted all strangers, both in town and country, to see their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the assembly of the people, they called him in to their assistance; he came thither in a chariot drawn by two horses, went through the public square to the theatre; and in that manner was introduced into the assembly, amidst the shouts and acclamations of joy of the whole people. After he had given his opinion, which was always religiously observed, his domestics reconducted him across the theatre, and he was escorted by all the citizens beyond the gates, with continual shouts of joy and clapping of hands.

He had still greater honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting that could add to the magnificence of the procession which followed his bier, of which the noblest ornaments were the tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered by every body in honour of his memory. Those tears were neither the effect of custom and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by a public decree, but flowed from a native source, and sprung from sincere affection, lively gratitude, and inconsolable sorrow. A law was also made, that, annually, for the future, upon the day of his death, musical and gymnastic games should be celebrated, and horse-races run in honour of him. But what was still more honourable for the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracusan people; that whenever Sicily should be engaged in a war with foreigners, they should send to Corinth for a general.

I do not know that we discover in history any thing more great and accomplished than what we are told

of Timoleon. I speak not only of his military exploits and the happy success of all his undertakings. Plutarch observes a characteristic in them, which distinguishes Timoleon from all the great men of his times; and he makes use, upon that occasion, of a very remarkable comparison. There are, says he, in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themselves, and which at the first view may be known to be the works of a master; but some of them denote their having cost abundance of pains and application; whereas in others, an easy and native grace is seen, which adds exceedingly to their value; and amongst the latter he places the poems of Homer. Something of this sort occurs, he goes on, when we compare the great actions of Epaminondas and Agesilaus with those of Timoleon. In the former, we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter, there is an easiness and facility, which distinguish them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune seems to have taken pleasure in seconding. It is Plutarch who still speaks.

But not to mention the military actions of Timoleon, what I admire most in him, is his warm and disinterested passion for the public good, reserving for himself only the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services; his extreme remoteness from ambition and haughtiness; his honourable retirement into the country; his modesty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and, what is still more uncommon, his aversion for all flattery, and even just praises. When somebody extolled, * in his presence, his wisdom, valour, and the glory he had acquired in having expelled the tyrants, he made no answer, but that he thought

* *Cùm suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quàm se in eâ re maximas diis gratias agere et habere, quòd, cùm Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimùm ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat.* Cor. Nep. in Timol. c. iv.

himself obliged to express his gratitude to the gods, in that, having decreed to restore peace and liberty to Sicily, they had vouchsafed to make choice of him in preference to all others for so honourable an office: for he was fully persuaded, that all human events are guided and disposed by the secret decrees of Divine Providence. What a treasure, what a happiness for a state, is such a minister!

For the better understanding his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracuse under Timoleon, with its state under the two Dionysius's. It is the same city, the same inhabitants, and the same people: but what a difference do we perceive under the different governments we speak of! The two tyrants had no thoughts but of making themselves feared, and of depressing their subjects to render them more submissive. They were in fact dreaded, as they desired to be, but at the same time detested and abhorred, and had more to fear from their subjects, than their subjects from them. Timoleon, on the contrary, who looked upon himself as the father of the Syracusan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleasure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children: and he was remembered amongst them with blessings, because they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind, at the same time, the wise legislator to whom they were indebted for those inestimable blessings.

BOOK THE TWELFTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. *State of Greece from the time of the treaty of Antalcidas. The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. They seize by fraud and violence upon the citadel of Thebes. Olynthus surrenders.*

A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 387. [a]THE peace of Antalcidas, of which mention has been made in the third chapter of the ninth book, had plentifully scattered among the Grecian states the seeds of discontent and division. In consequence of that treaty, the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Bœotia, and suffer them to enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garrison from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, saw

[a] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. v. p. 550; 553.

their power extremely augmented by it, and strove to make farther additions to it. They compelled the Mantinæans, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.

[b]The two kings of Sparta, Agesipolis and Agesilaus, were of quite different characters, and entertained equally different opinions upon the present state of affairs. The first, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a strict observer of justice, was anxious that Sparta, who was already much exclaimed against for the treaty of Antalcidas, should suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity through an unjust desire of extending her dominions. The other, on the contrary, restless, active, and full of great views of ambition and conquest, breathed nothing but war.

At the same time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very considerable cities of Macedonia, on the subject of Olynthus, a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally from Chalcis in Eubœa. [c]Athens, after the victories of Salamis and Marathon, had conquered many places on the side of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke as soon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented, in the general assembly of the allies, that Olynthus, situate in their neighbourhood, daily improved in strength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conquests; that it obliged all the cities round about to submit to it, and to enter into its measures; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and the Thebans. The affair being taken into

A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

[b] Diod. l. xv. p. 341. [c] Ibid. p. 554, 556.

consideration, it was unanimously resolved that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynthians. It was agreed that the allied cities should furnish ten thousand troops, with liberty to such as desired it, to substitute money, at the rate of three oboli[d] a day for each foot soldier, and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedæmonians, to lose no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Eudamidas, who prevailed with the Ephori, that Phœbidas, his brother, might have the leading of those which were to follow, and to join him soon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia which is also called Thrace, he garrisoned such places as applied to him for that purpose, seized upon Potidæa, a city in alliance with the Olynthians, which surrendered without making any defence; and began the war against Olynthus, though slowly, as was incumbent upon a general whose troops were not all assembled.

A. M. 3622. Ant. J. C. 382. [e] Phœbidas began his march soon after, and being arrived near Thebes, encamped without the walls, near the Gymnasium or public place of exercise. Ismenius and Leontides, both polemarchs, that is, generals of the army, and supreme magistrates of Thebes, were at the head of two different factions. The first, who had engaged Pelopidas on his side, was no friend to the Lacedæmonians, nor they to him; because he publicly declared for popular government and liberty. The other on the contrary favoured an oligarchy, and was supported by the Lacedæmonians with their whole interest. I am obliged to enter into this detail, because the event I am going to relate, and which was a consequence of it, was the occasion of the important war between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians.

This being the state of affairs at Thebes, Leon-

[d] Five-pence.

[e] Xenoph. p. 556—558. Plut. in Agesil. p. 608, 609. Id. in Pelop. p. 280. Diod. l. xv. p. 341, 342.

tides applied to Phœbidas, and proposed to him to sieze the citadel called Cadmæa, to expel the adherents of Ismenius, and to give the Lacedæmonians possession of it. He represented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him than to make himself master of Thebes, whilst his brother was endeavouring to reduce Olynthus; that he would thereby facilitate the success of his brother's enterprise; and that the Thebans, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms against the Olynthians, would not fail, upon his making himself master of the citadel, to supply him with whatever number of horse and foot he should think proper, for the reinforcement of Eudamidas.

Phœbidas, who had much ambition and little prudence, and who sought only for an opportunity of signalizing himself by some extraordinary action, without examining the consequences, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. Whilst the Thebans, in entire security and full reliance on the treaty of peace lately concluded by the Grecian states, were celebrating the feasts of Ceres, and expected nothing less than such an act of hostility, Phœbidas, conducted by Leontides, took possession of the citadel. The senate was then sitting. Leontides went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the Lacedæmonians who had just entered the citadel; that they were only the enemies of those who wished to disturb the public tranquillity; that as for himself, by the power his office of polemarch gave him, of confining whoever caballed against the state, he should put Ismenius into a place of security, who factiously endeavoured to break the peace. He was seized accordingly, and carried to the citadel. The party of Ismenius, seeing their chief a prisoner, and apprehending the utmost violence for themselves, quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to Athens, to the number of four hundred and upwards. They were soon after banished by a public decree. Pelopidas

was of the number; but Epaminondas remained at Thebes unmolested, being disregarded, as a man entirely devoted to the study of philosophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of state; and also on account of his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new polemarch was nominated in the room of Ismenius, and Leontides went to Lacedæmon.

The news of Phœbidas's enterprise, who at a time of general peace had taken possession of a citadel by force, upon which he had no claim nor right, had occasioned great murmurings and complaints. Such especially as opposed Agesilaus, who was suspected of having shared in the scheme, demanded by whose orders Phœbidas had committed so strange a breach of public faith. Agesilaus, who well knew that those warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying Phœbidas, and declared openly, and before all the world, "That the action ought to be considered in "itself, in order to understand whether it were "useful or not; that whatever was expedient for "Sparta, he was not only permitted, but com-"manded to act, upon his own authority, and "without waiting the orders of any body:" strange principles to be advanced by a person who upon other occasions had maintained, *That justice was the first of all virtues; and that without it, valour itself, and every other great quality, were useless and unavailing.* It is the same man that made answer, when somebody in his presence magnified the king of Persia's grandeur: *He, whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than I, unless he be more just?* a truly noble and admirable maxim, THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER IS EXCELLENT AND GREAT! but a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformably to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine that a statesman ought

always to have justice in his mouth, but should never lose an occasion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the sentence which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wisdom of its counsels and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the arguments discussed at large, and set in their full light, the assembly resolved, that Phœbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined a hundred thousand drachmas;[f] but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a strong garrison in it. What a strange contradiction was this! says Polybius;[g] what a disregard of all justice and reason! to punish the criminal, and approve the crime; and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by public authority, and continue it in the name of the state, in order to reap the advantages arising from it! But this was not all: commissioners, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were dispatched to the citadel of Thebes, to try Ismenius, upon whom they passed sentence of death, which was immediately executed.[h] Such flagrant injustice seldom remains unpunished. To act in such a manner, says Polybius again, is neither for one's country's interest, nor one's own.

[h] Teleutias, Agesilaus's brother, had been substituted in the place of Phœbidas to command the rest of the troops of the allies designed against Olynthus; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was strong, and furnished with every thing necessary to a good defence. Several sallies were made with great success, in one of which Teleutias was killed. The next year king Agesipolis had the command of the army. The campaign passed in skirmishing, without any thing

[f] About 2100*l.* sterling. [g] Lib. iv. p. 296.
[h] Xenoph. l. v. p. 559—565. Diod. l. xv. p. 342, 343.

decisive. Agesipolis died soon after of a disease, and was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who reigned nine years. About that time began the hundredth Olympiad. Sparta made fresh efforts to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polybidas their general pressed the siege with vigour. The place being in want of provisions was at last obliged to surrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

A. M. 3624. Ant. J. C. 380.

SECT. II. *Sparta's prosperity. Character of two illustrious Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas. The latter forms the design of restoring the liberty of his country. Conspiracy against the tyrants wisely conducted, and happily executed. The citadel is retaken.*

[i] THE fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with greater splendour, nor their power more strongly established. All Greece was subjected to them, either by force or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city, and with that of all Bœotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependence. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in every thing. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies and reduced almost to their own strength, were in no condition to make head against them. If any city or people in their alliance attempted to withdraw themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, masters by sea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the king of Persia and the tyrant of Syracuse, seemed to emulate each other in courting their friendship and alliance.

[i] Xenoph. p. 565. Diod. p. 334.

A prosperity founded in injustice can be of no long duration. The blow that was to shake the Spartan power, came from the very quarter where they had exercised the most unjust violence, and from whence they did not seem to have any thing to fear; that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason deserve our notice in this place.

[k] These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas, both descended from the noblest families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greatest affluence, and having become, whilst young, sole heir of a very rich and flourishing family, employed his wealth, from the first possession of it, in the relief of such as had occasion for it and merited his favour; showing in that wise use of his riches, that he was really their master, and not their slave. For according to Aristotle's remark, repeated by Plutarch,* most men either make no use at all of their fortunes out of avarice, or abuse them in bad or trifling expences. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almost say, his joy and delight, consisted. He was born of poor parents, and consequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and easy to him by his taste for philosophy. Pelopidas, who supported a great number of citizens, never having been able to prevail on him to accept his offers and to make use of his fortune, resolved to share in the poverty of his friend by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modesty of his dress and the frugality of his table.

[l] If Epaminondas was poor with respect to the goods of fortune, he was amply recompensed in

[k] Plut. in Pelop. p. 279. [l] Cor. Nep. in Epam. c. iii.

* Τῶν πολλῶν, οἱ μὲν ἃ ἐχρῶνται τῷ πλούτῳ διὰ μικρολογίαν, οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται δι' ἀσωτίαν.

those of the head and heart: modest, prudent, grave, skilful in taking advantage of favourable opportunities, possessing in a supreme degree the science of war, equally valiant and wise, easy and complaisant in his intercourse with the world, suffering with incredible patience the ill treatment of the people, and even of his friends, uniting with his ardour for military exercises a wonderful taste for study and the sciences, piquing himself especially so much upon truth and sincerity that he made a scruple of telling a lie even in jest or for diversion. *Adeò veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

"They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was best pleased with the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reason, they employed their leisure, the one in the palæstra and the chase, and the other in conversation and the study of philosophy.

But what persons of sense and judgment must principally admire in them, and which is rarely found amongst those of their high rank, is the perfect union and friendship that always subsisted between them, during the whole time they were employed together in the administration of the public affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Aristides and Themistocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we shall find them full of trouble, dissension, and debate. The two friends we speak of held the first offices in the state; all great affairs passed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In such delicate conjunctures, what occasions of pique and jealousy generally arise? But neither difference of sentiment, diversity of interest, nor the least emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good understanding. The reason of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon

" Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

virtue; which in all their actions, says Plutarch, occasioned their having neither glory nor riches, those fatal sources of strife and division, in view, but solely the public good, and made them desire, not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flourishing. Such were the two illustrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events in which they will have a principal share.

[n] Leontides being apprised that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they had been well received by the people, and much respected by all people of worth and honour, laid a plot for secretly cutting them off, by means of certain unknown persons, whom he sent thither to assassinate the most considerable of them. Only Androclides was killed, and Leontides failed in his designs against all the rest. A. M. 3626. Ant. J. C. 378.

At the same time, the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or assisting the exiles, and with orders to expel them their city, as persons declared to be the common enemies of Greece by all the allies. Humanity, a virtue peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject so infamous a proposal with horror. They were transported with the opportunity of expressing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the same nature. For the Thebans had contributed the most to the re-establishment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their favour by a public decree, contrary to the prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes, that Thrasybulus had set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the most considerable. He represented to

[n] Xenoph. Hist. Gr. l. v. p. 566—568. Plut. in Pelop. p. 280—284. Id. de Socrat. Gen. p. 580—588. & 594—598. Diod. l. xv. p. 344—346. Cor. Nep. in Pelop. c. i.—iv.

them, "That it was neither becoming nor just to "content themselves with having saved their own "lives, and to look with indifference upon their "country, enslaved and miserable: that whatever "good-will the people of Athens might express for "them, it was not fit that they should suffer their "fate to depend upon the decrees of a people, "which their natural inconstancy, or the malignity "of the orators that turned them any way at will, "might soon alter: that it was necessary to hazard "every thing, after the example of Thrasybulus, "and to set before themselves his intrepid valour "and generous fortitude as a model: that as he "set out from Thebes to suppress and destroy the "tyrants of Athens, so they ought to go from "Athens to restore to Thebes its ancient liberty."

This discourse made all the impression upon the exiles that could be expected. They sent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution, who extremely approved their design. Charon, one of the principal persons in the city, offered to receive the conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to get himself made secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then polemarchs or supreme magistrates of the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for some time diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans by his discourse with a passionate desire to throw off the Spartan yoke. [o] He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected, but he believed that he ought not to have any share in it, because, as he said, he could not resolve to imbrue his hands in the blood of his countrymen; foreseeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprise, however lawful in itself, and that the tyrants would not perish alone; and convinced besides, that a citizen, who should appear not to have taken either side, would have it in his power to make a more powerful impression upon the minds of the people.

[o] Plut. de Gen. Socrat. p. 594.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper that Pherenicus, having assembled all the conspirators, should stop at Thriasium, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a small number of the youngest of them should venture into the city. Twelve persons of the best families of Thebes, all united by a strict and faithful friendship with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themselves for this bold enterprise. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and dispatched a messenger to Charon, to give him notice of their coming, they set out dressed in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands for pitching of nets; that such as they met on the way might have no suspicion of them, and take them only for hunters that had wandered after their game.

Their messenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon that they were set out, the approach of danger did not alter his sentiments; and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared his house for their reception.

One of the conspirators, who was not a bad man, who even loved his country, and would have served the exiles with all his power, but had neither the resolution nor constancy necessary for such an enterprise, and could think of nothing but the difficulties and obstacles that presented themselves in crowds to his imagination, appalled with the prospect of danger, retired to his house without saying any thing, and dispatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprise, and return to Athens, there to await a more favourable opportunity. Happily, that friend, not finding his horse's bridle, and losing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, disguised like peasants, having separated from each other, entered the city at different gates towards the close of day. As

it was then early in the winter, the north wind blew, and the snow fell; which served the better to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; which gave them likewise a pretext for covering their faces. Some who were in the secret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where, of exiles and others, their whole number amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, secretary to the Bœotarchs,* who was in the plot, had some time before invited Archias and his companions to supper on that very day, promising them an exquisite repast, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they sat down to table. They had circulated the glass, and were almost drunk, when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without showing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias, however, sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to set out, and had put on their armour and swords, when, on a sudden, they heard a knocking at the door. Somebody went to it, and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately, he ran to him half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded that the conspiracy was discovered, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon should obey the order, and present himself before the magistrates with an air of assurance, as void of fear, and unconscious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers

* The magistrates and generals who were charged with the government of Thebes, were called Bœotarchs, that is to say, commanders or governors of Bœotia.

which threatened only himself: but at that time, terrified for his friends, and apprehending also that he should be suspected of some treachery, if so many brave citizens, whom he had received into his house, should be destroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and fetched his only son of fifteen years old at most, who in beauty and strength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, saying at the same time, "If "you discover that I have betrayed you, and have "been guilty of treachery upon this occasion, re- "venge yourselves on me in this my only son, "whom, dear as he is to me, I abandon to you, "and let him fall a victim without mercy to his "father's perfidy."

These expressions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the most sensible pain, was his imagining there was any one amongst them so mean and ungrateful as to form to himself the least suspicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimously, not to leave his son with them, but to put him into some place of safety; that his friends and country might not want an avenger, if he should not be so fortunate as to escape the tyrants. "No," replied the father, "he shall stay with you, and "share your fate. If he must perish, what nobler "end can he make, than to perish with his father "and best friends? For you, my son, exert your- "self beyond your years, and show a courage wor- "thy of you and me. You see here the most ex- "cellent of the Thebans. Make under such masters "a noble essay of glory, and learn to fight; or, if "it must be so, to die, like them, for liberty. For "the rest, I am not without hopes, for I believe "that the justice of our cause will draw down the "favour and protection of the gods upon us." He concluded with a prayer for them, and after embracing the conspirators, went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himself, and to compose his looks and voice, that he might not

appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the house where the feast was kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and asked the meaning of a report, that disaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in some house. He seemed astonished; and finding by their answers to his questions, that they had no precise information on the subject, he assumed a bolder tone, and said, "It is very likely the report you "speak of is only a false alarm, intended to inter- "rupt your mirth: however, as it ought not to be "neglected, I'll go immediately, and make the "strictest enquiry possible into it." Philidas praised his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, again engaged him in the debauch, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promised them.

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all prepared, not to conquer nor to save their lives, but to die gloriously, and to sell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and joy of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which they had no thoughts but of putting into instant execution a design, to which the least delay might occasion a thousand obstacles.

In fact, at that very instant happened a second storm, far more violent and more dangerous than the first, and which seemed as if it could not possibly fail of making the enterprise miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haste with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as was afterwards discovered. The courier was brought first to Archias, who was already overcome with wine, and thought of nothing but pleasure. In giving him his dispatches, he said, "My lord, the person who writes "you these letters, conjures you to read them im- "mediately, being serious affairs." Archias replied,

laughing,* "Serious affairs to-morrow;" which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under † his bolster, and continued the conversation and banquet.

The conspirators were at that time in the streets, divided into two parties; the one, with Pelopidas at their head, marched against Leontides, who was not at the feast; the other against Archias, under the command of Charon. The latter had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themselves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment wher the feast was kept, the guests made a great noise, and set up loud shouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in till the servants were all dismissed, which was done immediately. They were sent to neighbouring houses, where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conspirators, by this stratagem, having made themselves masters of the field of battle, entered sword in hand, and showing themselves in their true colours, put all the guests to the sword, and with them the magistrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themselves. Pelopidas met with more resistance. Leontides, who was asleep in bed, awaked with the noise that was made, and rising immediately, armed himself with his sword, and laid some of the conspirators at his feet, but was at last killed himself.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with so much dispatch and success, couriers were immediately dispatched to the exiles who had remained at Thriasium. The doors of the prisons were broken open, and five hundred prisoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to resume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met, the spoils affixed to the porticoes being taken down, and

* Οὐκῆν ἐς ἄυριον, ἔφη, τὰ σπενδαῖα.

† The Greeks ate lying on couches.

the armourers' and cutlers' shops broken open for that purpose. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, accompanied with a numerous band of young men, and with some old persons of great worth, whom they had got together.

The whole city was in great terror and confusion; the houses all illuminated with torches, and the streets thronged with the multitude passing to and fro. The people, in a consternation at what had happened, and for want of sufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their destiny. The Lacedæmonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error in not having fallen upon them during their disorder; for the garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, besides three thousand, who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they saw in the houses, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay still, and contented themselves with guarding the citadel, after having sent couriers to Sparta with the news of what had happened, and to demand an immediate reinforcement.

The next day at sun-rise the exiles arrived with their arms, and an assembly of the people was convened. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas and his company thither, surrounded with all their sacrificers, carrying in their hands the sacred fillets, and exhorting the citizens to assist their country, and to join with their gods. At this sight, the whole assembly rose up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conspirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The same day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were elected Bœotarchs.

The arrival of the exiles was followed by that of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, sent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. Those troops, with others which joined them shortly after, from all the cities of Bœotia,

composed an army of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, and without loss of time besieged the citadel, that it might be taken before relief could come from Sparta.

The besieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a speedy succour, and seemed resolved rather to die than surrender the place; at least the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion. But they were not the greatest number of the garrison. When provisions began to fall short, and famine to press them, the rest of the troops obliged the Spartans to surrender. The garrison had their lives granted them, and were permitted to retire whither they thought fit. They were scarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition, might have saved the citadel. But this was not the first time that the natural slowness of the Lacedæmonians had occasioned the miscarriage of their most important enterprises. The three commanders who had capitulated were tried. Two of them were punished with death; and the third had so great a fine laid upon him, that not being able to pay it, he banished himself from Peloponnesus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the most memorable of any that were ever executed by surprise and stratagem. Plutarch, with reason, compares it to that of Thrasybulus. Both exiles, destitute in themselves of all resource, and compelled to implore a foreign support, form the bold design of attacking a formidable power with a handful of men; and having overcome all obstacles to their enterprise solely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thrasybulus for that sudden and happy change, which, freeing them from the oppression under which they groaned, not only restored their liberty, but with it their ancient splendour, and put them into a condition to humble, and make

Sparta, their ancient and constant rival, tremble in her turn. We shall see in like manner, that the war which is to reduce the pride of Sparta, and deprive her of empire over both sea and land, was the work of this single night, in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortress, but entering only one of twelve into a private house, * unloosed and broke the chains imposed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other states of Greece, though they appeared to be so firmly rivetted as never to be broken or unloosed.

SECT. III. *Sphodrias the Lacedæmonian forms a design against the Piræeus without success. The Athenians declare for the Thebans. Skirmishes between the latter and the Lacedæmonians.*

A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. [p] THE Lacedæmonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprise of Pelopidas, did not continue quiet, but applied themselves in earnest to take their revenge. Agesilaus, rightly judging that an expedition of that kind, the end of which was to support tyrants, would not reflect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately succeeded king Agesipolis; under pretence that his great age dispensed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Bœotia with his army. The first campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing some ravages in the country, after which the king retired; and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Thespiæ, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themselves in a condition to make head against the Lacedæmonians, and were afraid of the consequences of the

[p] Xenoph. Hist. Gr. l. v. p. 568—572. Plut. in Ages. p. 609, 610. Id. in Pelop. p. 284, 285.

* Πελοπίδας, εἰ δεῖ μεταφορᾷ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἕλυσε καὶ διέκοψε τὰς δεσμὰς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμονίας, ἀλύτους καὶ ἀῤῥήκτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας.

war in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Of those who persisted to adhere to the Theban party, some were imprisoned, some put to death, others banished, and the rich severely fined. The Theban affairs seemed almost desperate; as no one came forward to support them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then in office, and were concerting together means to embroil the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians; and this was the stratagem they contrived.

Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Thespiæ with a body of troops, to receive and protect such of the Bœotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired some reputation amongst the soldiery, and wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was rash, superficial, self-conceited, and consequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas sent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him, with the offer, as from himself, of a considerable sum of money, and with insinuations better calculated to persuade him than money, since they flattered his vanity. "After having represented "to him that a person of his merit and reputation "ought to form some great enterprise which might "immortalize his name, he proposed to him the "seizing of the Piræeus, by attacking the Athenians "by surprise, and when they could have no expectation of such an attempt. He added, that nothing could be more grateful to the Lacedæmonians, than to see themselves masters of Athens; "and that the Thebans, enraged at the Athenians, whom they considered as traitors and deserters, would lend them no assistance."

Sphodrias, anxious to acquire a great name, and envying the glory of Phœbidas, who, in his opinion, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more brilliant and glorious exploit to seize the Piræeus of his own accord, and deprive the

Athenians of their great power at sea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook therefore with great joy an enterprise, which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than that of the Cadmea, but executed neither with the same boldness nor with the same success. For having set out in the night from Thespiæ, with the view of surprising the Piræeus before light, the day break overtook him in the plain of Thriasium near Eleusis, and finding himself discovered, he returned shamefully to Thespiæ with some booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately sent ambassadors with their complaints to Sparta. Those ambassadors found that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that summons, having just reason to apprehend the issue of a trial, and the resentment of his country. He had a son, who had contracted a strict and tender friendship with the son of Agesilaus. The latter solicited his father so earnestly, or rather tormented him with such extreme importunity and perseverance, that he could not refuse Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully acquitted. Agesilaus had little delicacy, as we have seen already, with respect to the duties of justice, when the service of his friends was in question. He was, besides, of all mankind the most tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little he would play with them, and divert himself with riding upon a stick amongst them; and that having been one day surprised by a friend in that action, he desired him not to tell any body of it till himself was a father.

[q] The unjust sentence passed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans exceedingly incensed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to assist them

[q] Xenoph. l. v. p. 584—589. Plut. in Ages. p. 610, 611. Id. in Pelop. p. 285—288.

with all their power. They fitted out a fleet of sixty sail, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, son of the illustrious Conon, whose reputation he well sustained by his own valour and exploits. It was he whom his enemies, through envy of the glory he had acquired by his great success, painted sleeping, with the goddess Fortune at his feet, taking towns in nets for him:[r] but upon this occasion he proved that he was not asleep. After having ravaged the coast of Laconia, he attacked the isle of Corcyra,[s] which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their side made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy situation between Sicily and Greece rendered that island very important. They therefore engaged Dionysius the tyrant in this expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they dispatched their fleet under the command of Mnasippus. The Athenians sent sixty sail against them to the relief of Corcyra, under the command of Timotheus at first; but soon after, upon his seeming to act too slowly, Iphicrates was substituted in his place. Mnasippus having made himself odious to his troops by his haughtiness, rigour, and avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and lost his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice that the Syracusan squadron of ten galleys was approaching, which he attacked so successfully that not one of them escaped. He had demanded, that the orator Callistratus, and Chabrias one of the most renowned captains of his time, should be joined in commission with him. Xenophon admires his wisdom and greatness of soul upon that account, in being not unwilling to appear to have occasion for advice, and

[r] Plut. in Syl. p. 454. [s] Corfu.

not apprehending that others might share the glory of his victories with himself.

Agesilaus had been prevailed upon to take the command of the troops against Thebes. He entered Bœotia, where he did abundance of damage to the Thebans, not without considerable loss on his own side. The two armies came every day to blows, and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal battle, yet in skirmishes, which served to instruct the Thebans in the art of war, and to inspire them with valour, boldness, and experience. It is reported that the Spartan Antalcidas told Agesilaus very justly upon this head one day, when he was brought back from Bœotia much wounded, "My lord Agesilaus, "you have a fine reward for the lessons you have "given the Thebans in the art of war, which, before "you taught it them, they neither would nor could "learn." It was to prevent this inconvenience, that Lycurgus, in one of the three laws which he calls *Rhetræ*, forbad the Lacedæmonians to make war often upon the same enemy, lest they should make them good soldiers, by obliging them too frequently to defend themselves.

Several campaigns passed in this manner without any thing decisive on either side. It was prudent in the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto, and to give their soldiers time to inure and embolden themselves. When the occasion was favourable, they let them seasonably loose like generous hounds, and after having given them a taste of victory by way of reward, they called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their success and this wise conduct was due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprise against Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedæmonians, at his return he found the enemy posted to intercept him near Tegyra. As soon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, somebody ran in all

haste to Pelopidas, and told him, "We are fallen "into the enemy's hands." "Why so?" replied he: "Why should we not rather say, that they are fallen "into ours?" At the same time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear-guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was assured that his foot, which were only three hundred, and were called the *sacred battalion*, wherever they charged, would break through the enemy, though superior in number, as they were by at least two-thirds. The assault began where the generals of each party were posted, and was very fierce. The two generals of the Lacedæmonians, who had charged Pelopidas, were presently killed; all that were with them being either slain or dispersed. The rest of the Lacedæmonian troops were so daunted, that they opened a passage for the Thebans, who might have marched on and saved themselves if they had thought fit: but Pelopidas, disdaining to make use of that opening for his retreat, advanced against those who were still drawn up in battle, and made so great a slaughter of them, that the rest were all dismayed, and fled in disorder. The Thebans did not pursue them far, lest they should be surprised. They contented themselves with having broken them, and with making a glorious retreat, not inferior to a victory, because it was made through an enemy dispersed and defeated.

This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the source of the great actions and events we shall soon relate. It had never happened till then in any war, either against the barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been defeated with the superiority of number on their side, nor even with equal forces in a pitched battle. For which reason they were insupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durst show themselves in the field before them, unless superior in number. They now lost that glory; and the Thebans in their turn are to be-

come the terror and dread even of those who had hitherto rendered themselves so universally formidable.

A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. The enterprise of Artaxerxes Mnemon against Egypt, and the death of Evagoras king of Cyprus, should naturally come in here. But I shall defer those articles, to avoid breaking in upon the Theban affairs.

SECT. IV. *New troubles in Greece. The Lacedæmonians declare war against Thebes. They are defeated and put to flight in the battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas ravages Laconia, and marches to the gates of Sparta.*

[t] WHILST the Persians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles arose in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Platææ, [u] and afterwards Thespiæ, entirely demolished those two cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Platæans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmost kindness, and adopted into the number of the citizens.

A. M. 3631. Ant. J. C. 371. [x] Artaxerxes, being informed of the state of the Grecian affairs, sent a new embassy thither, to persuade the several cities and republics at war, to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcidas. By that peace, as has been observed in its place, it was concluded, that all the cities of Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedæmonians pressed the Thebans to restore liberty to all the cities of Bœotia, to rebuild Platææ and Thespiæ which they had demolished, and to restore them with the territories dependent on them to their ancient inhabitants.

[t] Diod. l. li. p. 361, 362.

[u] Platææ, a city of Bœotia; Thespiæ of Achaïa.

[x] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. vi. p. 590—593. Diod. p. 365, 366.

The Thebans on their side insisted also, that the Lacedæmonians should give liberty to all those of Laconia, and that the city of Messene should be restored to its ancient possessors. This was what equity required; but the Lacedæmonians, believing themselves much superior to the Thebans, were for imposing a law upon them, to which they would not submit themselves.

All Greece being weary of a war which had already lasted several campaigns, and had no other origin than the ambition and injustice of Sparta, nor any other end than the aggrandizing of that state, was seriously intent upon effecting a general peace, and with that view had sent deputies to Lacedæmon, to concert together the means of attaining so desirable an event. [y] Amongst those deputies, Epaminondas was of the first rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philosophy; but he had not yet had an opportunity of giving any very distinguished proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies and the administration of public affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of respect for Agesilaus, who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to differ from his opinion in any thing, a very common effect of too imperious a power on one side, and too servile a submission on the other; he was the only one that spoke with a wise and noble boldness, as became a statesman who had no other view than the public good. He made a speech, not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power of Sparta, whilst the rest of Greece was reduced and ruined by it. He insisted principally upon the necessity of establishing the peace upon the basis of equality and justice; because no peace could be solid and of long duration but that which in all parties should find an equal advantage.

A discourse like this, founded evidently upon

[y] Plut. in Agesil. p. 611.

reason and justice, and pronounced with a grave and serious tone, never fails of making an impression. Agesilaus plainly perceived, from the attention and silence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, "Whether he "thought it just and reasonable that Bœotia should "be free and independent?" that is to say, Whether he agreed that the cities of Bœotia should depend no longer upon Thebes? Epaminondas immediately asked in his turn, with great vivacity, "Whether "he thought it just and reasonable that Laconia "should enjoy the same independence and liberty?" Upon which, Agesilaus, rising from his seat in great rage, insisted upon his declaring plainly, "Whether "he would consent that Bœotia should be free?" Epaminondas retorted his question again, and asked, "Whether on his side, he would consent that La-"conia should be free?" Agesilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, struck their name directly out of the treaty of alliance which they were about to conclude. The rest of the allies signed it, less out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedæmonians, whose power they dreaded.

[z] In consequence of this treaty, all the troops in the field were to be disbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then in Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori to know the republic's resolutions. Prothous, one of the principal senators, represented that there was no room for deliberation, for that Sparta, by the late agreement, had made the recall of the troops indispensable. Agesilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was absolutely bent on war for an opportunity of revenge, and the present seemed parti-

[z] Xenoph. l. vi. p. 593—597. Diod. l. xv. p. 365—371. Plut. in Agesil. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 288, 289.

cularly favourable, when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded from the treaty of peace. The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, *who treated him as an honest well-meaning dotard, that knew nothing of the matter; the Divinity, from thenceforth, as Xenophon observes, promoting their downfall. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march against the Thebans with his troops, and sent orders at the same time to all their allies to assemble their forces, who were very averse to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contradicting the Lacedæmonians, whom they did not yet dare to disobey. Though no happy consequences could be expected from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice, and from the sole motive of resentment and revenge; the Lacedæmonians, however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.

The Thebans were much alarmed at first. They saw themselves alone, without allies or support, whilst all Greece looked upon them as utterly lost; not knowing that in a single man they had more than an army. This man was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had several colleagues joined in commission with him. He immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As several bad omens were told him to prevent his setting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is, † "There is but one good omen, which "is, to fight for one's country." However, to reassure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed

A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

* Ἐκεῖνον μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἀγήσατο, ἤδη γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν.

† Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Iliad. xii. ✓ 423.

several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded the sacred battalion. When he left his house to go to the army, his wife, in taking her last adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears to take care of himself: "That," said he, "should be recommended "to young people; but for generals, they have no "occasion for such advice; they should only be "exhorted to take care of others."

Epaminondas had had the wise precaution to secure a pass, by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march considerably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Bœotia, between Platææ and Thespiæ. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle; which Cleombrotus resolved by the advice of all his officers, who represented to him, that if, with such a superiority of troops, he declined fighting, it would confirm the report which was secretly spread, that he covertly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an essential reason for hastening a battle, to anticipate the arrival of the troops which the enemy daily expected. However, the six generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their sentiments. A seventh, who came up very seasonably, joined the three that were for fighting; and his opinion, which coincided also with that of Epaminondas, carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon. This was in the second year of the 102d Olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number: That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been said, consisted of twenty-four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse. The Thebans had only six thousand foot and four hundred horse; but all of them choice troops, animated by their success in former campaigns, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, composed of men picked

up by chance, without valour, and ill-disciplined, was as much inferior to that of their enemies in courage as it was superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve the motive of it, and were besides dissatisfied with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals on either side supplied the place of numerous armies, especially the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his times. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of the sacred battalion, composed of three hundred young Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, consisting of Lacedæmonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take advantage of the superiority of his horse in an open country, he posted them in the front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, Agesilaus's son, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. The sacred battalion was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his right flank, to refuse his right wing and keep it as a kind of reserve, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans.

He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them (after the enemy's example) in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broken, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas following his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to surround him. Pelopidas, upon the sight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness at the head of the sacred battalion to prevent the enemy's design, and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into disorder. The battle was very fierce and obstinate; and whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardour. But the left wing, seeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx had been broken, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters

of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received such a blow. The most bloody defeats till then had scarce ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens. They had been seen, however, animated, or rather violently incensed, against Athens, to ransom by a truce of thirty years, eight hundred of their citizens, who had suffered themselves to be shut up in the little island of Sphacteria. Here they lost four thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmonians, and four hundred *Spartans, out of seven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were but few of their citizens.

The city of Sparta was at that time celebrating the gymnastic games, and was full of strangers whom curiosity had brought thither, when the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat. The Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any change to take place in the celebration of the festival. They sent to every family the names of their relations who were killed, and staid in the theatre to see that the dances and games were continued without interruption to the end.

The next day in the morning, the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle met in the public square, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks; whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses, or, if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection of aspect which sensibly expressed their profound anguish and affliction. That difference

* Those were properly called Spartans, who inhabited Sparta; the Lacedæmonians were those settled in the country.

was still more remarkable in the women. Grief, silence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons were seen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied but such sentiments evince great courage and resolution; but I would not have them entirely extinguish natural tenderness, and should have been better pleased had there been less of ferocity in them.

Sparta was under no small difficulty to know how to act in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the most powerful families in the city, it was not safe to inflict upon them the punishments assigned by the laws, lest their despair should induce them to take some violent resolution that might be fatal to the state. For such as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a disgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the streets might buffet them, which they were obliged to suffer. They were besides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours; and, lastly, they were to shave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It would be a great loss to the Spartans to be deprived of so many of their soldiery, at a time when they had such pressing occasion for them. To remove this difficulty, they chose Agesilaus legislator, with absolute power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. Agesilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to save the fugitives without prejudice to the state. In a full assembly of the Lacedæmonians, he decreed, "That for the present day, the laws should be suspended, and of no "effect; but ever after to remain in full force and "authority." By those few words he preserved the Spartan laws entire, and at the same time restored to the state that great number of its members, by

preventing their being for ever degraded, and consequently useless to the republic.

[a] After the battle of Leuctra the two parties were industriously employed, the one in retrieving their loss, and the other in improving their victory.

[b] Agesilaus, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia; but with a full resolution carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himself to attacking some small towns of the Mantinæans, which he took, and laid the country waste. This gave Sparta some joy, and they began to take courage from believing their condition not entirely desperate.

The Thebans, immediately after their victory, had sent an account of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the same time against the common enemy. The senate was then sitting, and received the courier with great coldness, did not make him the usual presents, and dismissed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the considerable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmonians, could not dissemble the umbrage and dissatisfaction which so sudden and unexpected an increase of a neighbouring power gave them, which might soon render itself formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elected joint governors of Bœotia. Having assembled all the troops of the Bœotians and their allies, whose number daily increased, they entered Peloponnesus, and made abundance of places and states revolt from the Lacedæmonians; Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and the greatest part of Laconia itself. It was then about the winter solstice, and towards the end of the last month of the year, so that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the first day of the next month being assigned by law, for their resigning them to the persons appointed to succeed.

[a] Xenoph. l. vi. p. 598. Diod. l. xv. p. 375—378.
[b] Plut. in Agesil. p. 613—615. Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

them, upon pain of death, if they held them beyond that term. Their colleagues, apprehending the badness of the season, and still more, the dreadful consequences of infringing that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes. Pelopidas was the first who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take advantage of the enemy's alarm, and to pursue their enterprise, without regard to a formality, from the observance of which they might justly believe themselves dispensed by the state itself, as the service of the state, when founded in justice, is the sovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of seventy thousand good soldiers, of which the Thebans did not form a twelfth part. But the great reputation of the two generals was the cause, that all the allies, even without orders or a public decree, obeyed them with respectful silence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was six hundred years since the Dorians had established themselves at Lacedæmon, and in all that time they had never seen, till now, an enemy upon their lands; none having hitherto dared to set foot in them, and much less to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any opposition whatsoever.

Parties had been posted to defend some important passes. Ischolas the Spartan, who commanded one of these detachments, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner. Finding it impossible, with his small body of troops, to support the enemy's attack, and thinking it disgraceful for a Spartan to abandon his post, he sent back the young men, who were of an age and condition to serve their country effectually, and kept none with him but such as were advanced in years. These, unanimously devoting

themselves, after the example of Leonidas, to the public good, sold their lives very dear; and after having defended themselves a long time, and made great slaughter of their enemies, they all perished to a man.

Agesilaus acted upon this occasion with great address and wisdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain but dangerous to oppose, whose rapid course would be but of short duration, and after some ravages subside of itself. He contented himself with distributing his best troops into the middle and all the most important parts of the city, and with strongly securing all the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle, and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, and called upon him to come out and defend his country, him, who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, by kindling the war.

But a subject of far greater affliction to Agesilaus were the commotions and disorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men in the highest affliction and despair from being witnesses of what they saw, as well as of the women, who seemed quite distracted with hearing the threatening cries of the enemy, and seeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilst the flames and smoke, which drove almost upon them, seemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. Whatever courage Agesilaus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being sensibly affected with so mournful an object, to which was added the grief of sullying his reputation; who, having found the city in a most flourishing and potent condition, when he came to the government, now saw it fallen to such a degree, and all its ancient glory lost under him! He was, besides, secretly mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often

made, "That no woman of Sparta had ever seen "the smoke of an enemy's camp."

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had seized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither; and, as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad design, he said to them, "Comrades, it is not there I sent you." At the same time he pointed to different posts to divide them; to which they went, believing their enterprise had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, evinces a great presence of mind in Agesilaus, and shows, that in times of trouble it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought it more advisable to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous enquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swoln by the melting of the snows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans pointed him out to Agesilaus; who, after having attentively considered and followed him with his eyes a long time, said only, * "Wonderful man!" in admiration of the valour that induced him to undertake such great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta itself, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of it. He did not however dare to attempt the forcing of the city; and not being able to induce Agesilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have defended itself long against

* Ὦ τὲ μεγαλοπραγμένος ἀνθρώπε. The Greek expression is not easy to be translated. It signifies, Oh the actor of great deeds.

a victorious army. But the prudent captain who commanded it, was apprehensive of drawing upon his hands the whole force of Peloponnesus, and still more, of exciting the jealousy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his destroying so potent a republic, and pulling out, as Leptines says, one of the eyes of Greece, as a proof of his skill.[c] He confined himself therefore to the glory of having humbled the proud, whose laconic language added new haughtiness to their commands, and of having reduced them to the necessity, as he boasted himself, of lengthening their * monosyllables. On his return he again wasted the country.

[d] In this expedition the Thebans reinstated Arcadia into one body, and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had been in possession of it † very long, after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best soil in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country, natural to all men, and almost as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which length of time had only increased. They built themselves a city, which, from the name of the old one, was called Messene. Amongst the unhappy events of this war, none gave the Lacedæmonians more sensible displeasure, or rather more lively grief, than this; because from time immemorial

[c] Arist. Rhet. l. iii. c. 10. [d] Paus. l. iv. p. 267, 268.

* The Lacedæmonians sometimes answered the most important dispatches by a single monosyllable. Philip having written to them, "If I enter your country, I will put all to fire and sword," they replied, "If;" to signify they would take all possible care to put it out of his power.

† The Messenians had been driven out of their country two hundred and eighty-seven years.

an irreconcileable enmity had subsisted between Sparta and Messene, which seemed incapable of being extinguished but by the final ruin of the one or the other.

[e] Polybius points out an ancient error in the conduct of the Messenians with regard to Sparta, which was the cause of all their misfortunes. This was their too great solicitude for present tranquillity, and, through an excessive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it sure and lasting. Two of the most powerful states of Greece were their neighbours, the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. The latter, from their first settlement in the country, had declared open war against them: the others, on the contrary, always joined with them, and entered into all their interests. But the Messenians had neither the courage to oppose their violent and irreconcileable enemies with valour and constancy, nor the prudence to treat with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. When the two states were either at war with each other, or carried their arms elsewhere, the Messenians, with little foresight for the future, and regarding only their present repose, made it a rule never to engage in the quarrel on either side, and to observe an exact neutrality. On such conjunctures they congratulated themselves upon their wisdom and success in preserving their tranquillity, whilst their neighbours all around them were involved in trouble and confusion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedæmonians, having subdued their enemies, fell upon them with all their forces; and finding them unsupported by allies, and incapable of defending themselves, they reduced them to submit, either to the yoke of a rigid slavery, or to banish themselves from their country. And this was several times their case. They ought to have

[e] Polyb. l. iv. p. 299, 300.

reflected, says Polybius, * that as there is nothing more desirable or advantageous than peace, when founded on justice and honour; so there is nothing more shameful, and at the same time more pernicious, when attained by bad measures, and purchased at the price of liberty.

SECT. V. *The two Theban generals, at their return, are accused, and acquitted. Sparta implores aid of the Athenians. The Greeks send ambassadors to Artaxerxes. Influence of Pelopidas at the court of Persia.*

IT might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on their return to their country after such memorable actions, should have been received with general applause, and all the honours that could be conferred upon them. Instead of which, they were both summoned to answer as criminals against the state; in having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to resign their command to new officers, retained it four months beyond the appointed term; during which they had executed in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all those great exploits we have related.

Such conduct is surprising, and the relation of it cannot be read without a secret indignation: but it had a very plausible foundation. The zealous assertors of a liberty lately regained, were apprehensive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorizing some future magistrate to maintain himself in command beyond the established term, and in consequence to turn his arms against his country. It is not to be doubted, but the Romans would have acted in the same

* Εἰρήνη γὰρ, μελὰ μὲν τῆ δικάιῳ καὶ πρέπονλος, κάλλιστόν ἐστι κτῆμα καὶ λυσιτελέστατον· μετὰ δὲ κακίας ἢ δειλείας ἐπονειδίστῳ, πάντων αἴσχιστον καὶ βλαβερώταλον.

manner; and if they were so severe as to put an officer to death, though victorious, for having fought without his general's orders, how would they have behaved to a general, who should have continued four months in the supreme command, contrary to the laws?

[f] Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal. He defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character, for he was naturally warm and fiery. That valour, haughty and intrepid in fight, forsook him before the judges. His air and discourse, which had something timid and grovelling in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, and it was not without difficulty that they acquitted him. Epaminondas appeared, and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He seemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifying himself, he made a panegyric upon his actions, and repeated in a lofty style, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and reunited Arcadia in one body. He concluded with saying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would concede the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and universal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner seizes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature designed for great actions, and gave an air of grandeur to every thing he did. [g] His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected *Telearch;* an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He how-

[f] Plut. de sui laude, p. 540.
[g] Plut. de Præcept. reip. ger. p. 811.

ever thought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that * *the office did not only show what the man was, but also the man what the office was.* He accordingly raised that employment to very great dignity, which before consisted in only taking care that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common sewers in good order.

[h] The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy, whom the late successes had rendered still more haughty and enterprising than ever, and seeing themselves exposed every moment to a new inroad, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spoke, began with describing, in the most pathetic terms, the deplorable condition and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the insolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the making themselves masters of all Greece. He insinuated what Athens in particular had to fear from them, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times in which the strict union betwixt Athens and Sparta had preserved Greece, and contributed to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with saying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its ancient friend and ally, which more than once had generously sacrificed itself for the common interest and safety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his discourse, but at the same time they had not forgotten the bad treatment which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the defeat in Sicily. However, their compassion of the present

[h] Xenoph. l. vi. p. 609—613.

* Οὐ μόνον ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀνήρ.

misfortunes of Sparta prevailed over their resentment of former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedæmonians with all their forces. [l] A short time after, the deputies of several states being assembled at Athens, a league and confederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcidas, and the intention of the king of Persia, who was continually urging its execution.

[k] A slight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies, raised them from that dejection of spirits in which they had hitherto remained; as it generally happens, that in a mortal distemper the least glimpse of a recovery enlivens hope and recalls joy. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, having received a considerable aid from Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called *the battle without tears*,[l] because he did not lose a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been so much accustomed to conquer that they had become almost insensible to the pleasure of victory: but when the news of this battle arrived, and they saw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderness. He was followed by the officers and magistrates. The crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to see those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had risen so high.

[m] Philiscus, who had been sent by the king of Persia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived

[l] Xenoph. l. vii. p. 613—616.
[k] Plut. in Agesil. p. 614, 615. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619, 620.
[l] Diod. l. xv. p. 383. [m] Xenoph. p. 619. Diod. p. 381.

at Delphi, whither he summoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all consulted in the affair which was discussed in the assembly. The Spartans demanded, that Messene and its inhabitants should return to their obedience to them. Upon the Thebans' refusal to comply with that demand, the assembly broke up, and Philiscus retired, after having left considerable sums of money with the Lacedæmonians for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its losses, was no longer the object of the Persian's fear or jealousy; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them just cause of inquietude.

"To form a league against Thebes with greater certainty, the allies had sent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their side deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wise choice, from the great reputation of the ambassador, which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the success of a negociation. The battle of Leuctra had spread his fame into the remotest provinces of Asia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongst the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him, *This is he, who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire by sea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itself between the Eurotas and Taygetus; Sparta, that not long since, under its king Agesilaus, threatened no less than to invade us in Susa and Ecbatana.*

Artaxerxes, extremely pleased with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himself upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in esteem indeed of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and self-love, and to insinuate to his subjects, that the greatest and most illustrious persons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his discourse, in his opinion more nervous than

[n] Xenoph. l. vii. p. 620—622. Plut. in Pelop. p. 294.

that of the Athenian ambassadors, and more simple than that of the Lacedæmonians, which was saying a great deal, he esteemed him more than ever; and as it is * common with kings, who are but little accustomed to constraint, he did not dissemble his extreme regard for him, and his preference of him to all the rest of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprised the king, how important it was to the interest of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never borne arms against the Persians, and which, in forming a kind of balance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make an useful diversion against those republics, the perpetual and irreconcileable enemies of Persia, and which had lately caused it so many losses and inquietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the best received after him; because being passionately desirous of humbling Sparta, and at the same time of pleasing the king, he did not appear averse to the views of Pelopidas.

The king having pressed Pelopidas to explain what favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, "That Messene should continue free and exempt "from the yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian gal- "leys, which had sailed to infest the coast of Bœo- "tia, should be recalled, or that war should be de- "clared against Athens; that those who would not "come into the league, or march against such as "should oppose it, should be attacked first." All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the king. When this decree was read to the ambassadors, Leon, Timagoras's colleague, said loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, *Athens has nothing now to do but to find some other ally than the king.*

Pelopidas, having obtained all he desired, left the court, without accepting any more of the king's many presents, than what was necessary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and

* Πάθος βασιλικὸν παθών.

this aggravated the complaints which were made against the other Grecian ambassadors, who were not so reserved and delicate in point of interest. One of them, the envoy from the Arcadians, said, on his return home, that he had seen many slaves at the king's court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain ostentation, and that the so much boasted * Plane-tree of gold, which was valued at so high a price, had not shade enough under it for a grashopper.

Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the most presents. He did not only accept of gold and silver, but of a magnificent bed, and slaves to make it, the Greeks not seeming to him expert enough in that office; which shows that sloth and luxury were little in fashion at Athens. He received also twenty-four cows, with slaves to take care of them; as it was necessary for him to drink milk for some indisposition. Lastly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the sea-side at the king's expence, who gave four talents ° for that service. His colleague, Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accused him of not having held any communication with him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a trial in consequence, and condemned to suffer death.

It does not appear that the acceptance of presents was what most incensed the Athenians against Timagoras. For Epicrates, a simple porter, who had been at the Persian court, and had also received presents, having said, in a full assembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to pass, by which, instead of the nine archons annually elected, nine ambassadors should be chosen out of the poorest of the people, to be sent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage; the assembly only laughed, and made a jest of it. But

° Four thousand crowns.

* It was a tree of gold, of exquisite workmanship, and great value, which people went to see out of curiosity.

what offended them more, was the Thebans' having obtained all they demanded. In which, says Plutarch, they did not duly consider the great reputation of Pelopidas nor comprehend how much stronger and more efficacious that was in persuading, than all the harangues and the rhetorical flourishes of the other ambassadors; especially with a prince accustomed to caress and comply with the strongest, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who besides was not sorry to humble Sparta and Athens, the ancient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The esteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas were not a little augmented by the good success of this embassy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-establishment of Messene; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Thessalia was the theatre where the valour of Pelopidas made the greatest figure, in the expedition with which he was commissioned by the Thebans against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. I shall relate it entire, and unite under one point of view all which relates to that great event, without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court.

SECT. VI. *Pelopidas marches against Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, and reduces him to reason. He goes to Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court, and brings Philip to Thebes as a hostage. He returns into Thessaly, is seized by treachery, and made a prisoner. Epaminondas delivers him. Pelopidas gains a victory against the tyrant, and is killed in the battle. Extraordinary honours paid to his memory. Tragical end of Alexander.*

[p] THE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens, which for many years had domineered over all Greece, either in conjunction or separately, had inspired some of their neighbours with the desire of supplanting those cities, and given birth to the hope of succeeding them in the pre-eminence. A power had risen up in Thessaly, which began to grow formidable. Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, had been declared generalissimo of the Thessalians by the consent of all the people of that province; and it was to his merit, which was generally acknowledged, that he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above eight thousand horse and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light-armed soldiers, and might have undertaken any thing with such a body of disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their general. But death prevented his designs. He was assassinated by persons who had conspired his destruction. A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were substituted in his place, the latter of whom killed the other for the sake of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of

[p] Xenoph. l. vi. p. 579—583, & 598—601. Diod. l. xv. p. 371—373.

A. M. 3635. Ant. J. C. 369. Pheræ, who seized the tyranny under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. Against him Pelopidas was sent.

As the tyrant made open war against several states of Thessaly, and was secretly intriguing to subject them all, the cities sent ambassadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himself the conduct of this expedition. He set out for Thessaly with an army, made himself master of Larissa, and obliged Alexander to make his submission to him. He there endeavoured by mild usage and friendship to change his disposition, and from a tyrant to make him become a just and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing new complaints every day of his cruelty, debauched life, and insatiable avarice, he began to employ warm reproofs and severe menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at such usage, withdrew secretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in security from any attempts of the tyrant, and in good understanding with each other, set out for Macedonia, where his presence had been desired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural son, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was succeeded by Perdiccas,* with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should see the most right.

Pelopidas was no sooner arrived, than he put an

* Plutarch makes this quarrel between Alexander and Ptolemy; which cannot agree with Æschines's account (de Fals. Legat. p. 400) of the affairs of Perdiccas after Alexander's death, which I shall relate in the history of Philip. As Æschines was contemporary with them, I thought it proper to substitute Perdiccas in the place of Alexander.

end to all their disputes, and recalled those who had been banished by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the noblest families of Macedonia for hostages, he carried them to Thebes, to show the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms, and the entire confidence that was placed in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war against the Greeks, to subject them to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia some years after, occasioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being desirous to arrive before Ptolemy, who was making new efforts to establish himself upon the throne, had time to execute his projects; and not having an army, he raised some mercenary troops in haste, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt those mercenary soldiers by presents of money, and to bring them over to his side. At the same time, awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his superior and master, had recourse to caresses and entreaties, and promised in the most solemn manner to hold the crown only as guardian to the son of the deceased, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were so to the Thebans; and as security for his engagements, he gave his son Philoxenus and fifty other children, who were educated with him, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary soldiers ran very much in his thoughts. He was informed that they had sent the greatest part of their effects, with their wives and children, into the city of Pharsalus,* and conceived that to be a fair opportunity for being

* A city of Thessaly.

revenged on them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together some Thessalian troops, and marched to Pharsalus, where he was scarce arrived before Alexander the tyrant came against him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambassador to him, believing that he came to justify himself, and to answer the complaints of the Thebans, went to him accompanied only by Ismenias, without any precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious wretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that respect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing against his person. He was mistaken; for the tyrant, seeing them alone and unarmed, made them both prisoners, and seized Pharsalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occasion.[q] There are, says he, in the intercourse of society, certain assurances, and, as it were, ties of sincerity, upon which one may reasonably rely: such are the sanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hostages, and above all, the consistency of the past conduct of those with whom one treats: when, notwithstanding those motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a misfortune, but not a fault: but to trust one's self to a notorious traitor and villain, is certainly an instance of temerity for which there is no excuse.

[r] This heinous perfidy of Alexander filled the minds of all his subjects with terror and distrust, who very much suspected, that, after so flagrant an injustice and so daring a crime, the tyrant would spare nobody, and would behave upon all occasions, and towards all sorts of people, as a man in despair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes,

[q] Lib. viii. p. 512.
[r] Plut. in Pelop. p. 292, 293. Diod. l. xv. p. 382, 383.

the Thebans, incensed at so base a deed, immediately sent an army into Thessaly; and as they were displeased with Epaminondas, whom they suspected, though without any good reason, of having been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain occasion, they nominated other generals; so that he served in this expedition only as a private man. The love of his country and of the public good extinguished all resentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is but too common, to abandon its service through any pique of honour or personal discontent.

The tyrant in the mean time carried Pelopidas to Pheræ, and made a show of him to all the world at first, imagining that such a treatment would humble his pride and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, seeing the inhabitants of Pheræ in great consternation, perpetually consoled them, advising them not to despair, and assuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be punished. He caused him to be told, that it was very imprudent and very unjust to torture and put to death every day so many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, and to spare his life, who, he knew, would no sooner be out of his hands, than he would punish him as his crimes deserved. The tyrant, astonished at his greatness of soul, sent to ask him why he took so much pains to meet death? "It is," returned the illustrious prisoner, "that "thou mayst perish the sooner, by becoming still "more detestable to the gods and men."

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody should see or speak to him. But Thebé, his wife, the daughter of Jason, who had also been tyrant of Pheræ, having heard of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas from those who guarded him, had a curiosity to see and converse with him; and Alexander could not refuse her his permission.[1] He

[1] Cic. de Offic. l. ii. n. 25.

loved her tenderly (if indeed a tyrant may be said to love any body): but notwithstanding that tenderness, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual distrust even of her. He never went to her apartment without a slave before him with a naked sword in his hand, and having first sent some of his guard to search every coffer for concealed poniards. Wretched prince! cries Cicero, who could confide more in a slave and a barbarian, than in his own wife!

Thebé therefore desiring to see Pelopidas, found him in a melancholy condition, dressed in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might console him in his distress. Not being able to refrain from tears at such a sight, "Ah, unfortunate Pelopidas," said she, "how I "pity your poor wife!" "No, Thebé," replied he, "it is you who are to be pitied, who can endure "such a monster as Alexander, without being his "prisoner." Those words touched Thebé to the quick; for it was with extreme reluctance she bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous excesses. Hence, by going often to see Pelopidas, and openly bewailing before him the injuries she suffered, she daily conceived new abhorrence for her husband, whilst hatred and the desire of revenge grew continually more strong in her heart.

The Theban generals, who had entered Thessaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by their incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant pursued them in their retreat, harassed them shamefully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole army had been defeated, if the soldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who served as a private man amongst them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry and light-armed foot, posted himself in the rear; where, sometimes sustaining the enemy's attacks and sometimes charging them in his turn, he completed the retreat

with success, and preserved the Bœotians. The generals upon their return were each of them fined ten thousand drachmas,* and Epaminondas substituted in their place. As the public good was his sole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment and kind of affront which he had received, and was amply recompensed by the glory that attended so generous and disinterested a conduct.

Some days after, he marched at the head of the army into Thessaly; whither his reputation had preceded him. It had spread already both terror and joy through the whole country; terror amongst the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas dismayed, and joy amongst the people, from the assurance they entertained of being speedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant punished for all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the safety of Pelopidas to his own glory, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might have done, chose rather to protract it, from the apprehension that the tyrant, if reduced to despair, like a wild beast, would turn his whole rage upon his prisoner. For he knew the violence and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reason nor justice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that some he covered with the skins of bears and wild boars, and setting his dogs upon them, caused them to be torn in pieces, or shot them to death with arrows. These were his frequent sports and diversions. In the cities of Meliboea and Scotusa,† which were in alliance with him, he called an assembly of the citizens, and causing them to be surrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their young men to be cut in his presence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the Troades of Euripides, he suddenly went out of the theatre, and sent to the actor to tell him not

* About 225*l.* sterling.

† Cities of Magnesia.

to be under any apprehension upon that account, for that his leaving the place was not from being displeased with him, but because he was ashamed to let the citizens see him weep at the misfortunes of Hecuba and Andromache, who had never felt any compassion for those whom he had murdered.

Though he was little susceptible of pity, he was much so of fear at this time. Amazed at the sudden arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that surrounded him, he made haste to dispatch persons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas could not endure that the Thebans should make either peace or alliance with so wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days; and after having got Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

[t] Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind. The tyrant of Pheræ soon returned to his natural disposition. He ruined several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into those of Phthia, Achæa, and Magnesia. Those cities sent deputies to Thebes to demand a succour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of setting out, when there happened a sudden eclipse of the sun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at noonday. The dread and consternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well what to think of this accident, which was no more than was natural; but he did not think it proper for him to expose seven thousand Thebans against their will, nor to to compel them to march in the terror and apprehension with which he perceived they were seized. He therefore gave himself alone to the Thessalians; and taking with him three hundred horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed, contrary to the prohibition of the soothsayers and the opinion of the most wise and judicious.

[t] Plut. in Pelop. p. 295—298. Xenoph. l. vi. p. 601.

He was personally incensed against Alexander, through resentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebé his wife had said, and he himself knew, of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great divisions in his court, and an universal disposition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in itself. For his sole desire and ambition was, to show all Greece, that at the same time that the Lacedæmonians were sending generals and officers to Dionysius the tyrant, and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a statue of brass, as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people that declared open war against tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from amongst the Greeks all unjust and violent government.

After having assembled his army at Pharsalus, he marched against the tyrant; who, being apprised that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own infantry was twice as strong as that of the Thessalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by somebody that Alexander was approaching with a great army; "So much the better," replied he, "we shall beat the greater "number."

Near a place called Cynoscephalæ, there were very high and steep hills, which lay in the midst of the plain. Both armies were in motion to seize that post with their foot, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's; and whilst they pursued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the top of the hills, having outstripped the Thessalian infantry; and charging fiercely such as endeavoured to force those heights and intrenchments, he killed the foremost, and repulsed the others, obliging them to give way. Pelopidas, seeing this, recalled his horse, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his

buckler, and ran to those who were fighting upon the hills.

He presently made way through his infantry, and pass[illegible]n a moment from the rear to the front, revived [illegible]is soldiers' vigour and courage in such a manner as made the enemies believe themselves attacked by fresh troops. They supported two or three charges with great resolution; but finding Pelopidas's infantry continually gaining ground, and that his cavalry, who were now returned from the pursuit, came to support them, they began to give way, and retired slowly, still making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, seeing from the top of the hills the whole army of the enemy, which, though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in great disorder, he stopped for some time, looking about every where for Alexander.

As soon as he perceived him upon his right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenary soldiers, he could contain himself no longer, but, fired with the sight, and abandoning to his sole resentment the care of his life and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and ran forwards with all his force, calling upon and defying Alexander. The tyrant made no answer to his defiance, and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himself amongst his guards. The battalion standing firm for some time, Pelopidas broke the first ranks, and killed the greatest part of the guards upon the spot. The rest, continuing the fight at a distance, pierced his arms and breast at length with their javelins. The Thessalians, alarmed at the danger in which they saw him, made all the haste they could from the tops of the hills to his assistance; but he was fallen dead when they arrived. The infantry and the Theban horse, returning to the fight against the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and pursued them a great way. The plain was covered with the dead; for more than three thousand of the tyrant's troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appear the effect of a consummate valour, is inexcusable, and has been generally condemned, because there is no true valour without wisdom and prudence. The greatest courage is cool and sedate. It spares itself where it ought, and exposes itself when occasion makes it necessary. A general ought to see every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a condition to apply the proper remedy on all occasions, he must not precipitate himself where there is the danger of his being cut off, and of causing the loss of his army by his death.

[u] Euripides, after having said in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the victory while he preserves his own life, adds, *that if it be necessary for him to die, he ought to do so by resigning his life into the hands of virtue;* as if he wished to imply, that virtue alone, not passion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first duty of valour is to preserve him who preserves others.

[x] It is in this sense that the saying of Timotheus is so just and amiable. When Chares was one day showing to the Athenians the wounds he had received whilst he was their general, and his shield pierced through with a pike: "For my part," said Timotheus, "when I was besieging Samos, and a dart "happened to fall very near me, I was much "ashamed, as having exposed myself like a young "man without necessity, and more than was "consistent for the general of so great an army." Hannibal certainly cannot be suspected of fear, and yet it has been observed, that in the great number of battles which he fought, he never received any wound, except only at the siege of Saguntum.

It is therefore not without reason, that Pelopidas

[u] Plut. in Pelop. p. 317. [x] Ibid. p. 278.

is reproached with having sacrificed all his other virtues to his valour, by thus throwing away his life, and with having died rather for himself than his country.

Never was captain more lamented than he. His death changed the victory so lately gained into mourning. A profound silence and universal affliction reigned throughout the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated. When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city through which it passed, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests, came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it, carrying crowns, trophies, and armour, all of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the same time highly afflicted for his death, and equally sensible of their obligations to him, made it their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate at their sole expence the obsequies of a general, who had devoted himself for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be refused to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, especially in the sincere affliction of the Thebans and Thessalians. For, says Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of sorrow, which may be imposed by the public authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real sentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as public, the regret expressed equally by great and small, the praises given by the general and unanimous voice to a person who is no more, and from whom nothing farther is expected, are an evidence not to be questioned, and a homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obsequies of Pelopidas, and, in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but resolved to avenge him. A small army of seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse were

immediately sent against Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terror of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself. He was obliged to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, and to give the Magnesians, Phthiots, and Achæans, their liberty; to withdraw his garrisons from their country; and to swear that he would always obey the Thebans, and march at their orders against all their enemies.

Such a punishment was very gentle. Nor, says Plutarch, did it appear sufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes: they had reserved one for him worthy of a tyrant. Thebé, his wife, who saw with horror and detestation the cruelty and perfidy of her husband, and had not forgotten the lessons and advice which Pelopidas had given her whilst in prison, entered into a conspiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's whole palace was full of guards, who kept watch through the whole night; but he placed little confidence in them, and as his life was in some sort in their hands, he feared them the most of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he ascended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this chamber a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding fierce, and knew nobody but his master, Thebé, and the slave who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebé shut up her brothers during the day-time, in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered his own chamber at night, as he was overcharged with meat and wine, he fell into a deep sleep immediately. Thebé went out presently after, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, that he might not disturb her husband's repose; and lest the ladder should make a noise when her brothers came up by it, she covered the steps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, she made her brothers ascend softly, armed with daggers: when they came to the door, they were seized

with terror, and would go no further. Thebé, quite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did not proceed immediately, and to discover the plot to him. Shame and fear reanimated them: she made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herself, whilst they killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately spread through the city. His dead body was exposed to all sorts of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given for a prey to the dogs and vultures; a just reward for his violent oppressions and detestable cruelties.

SECT. VII. *Epaminondas is chosen general of the Thebans. His second attempt against Sparta, His celebrated victory at Mantinea. His death and eulogy.*

A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363.

[r] THE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm to the neighbouring states. Every thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had sprung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The people of Tegæa had called in the Thebans to their aid, and those of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were besides several other allies on each side. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops, who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegæa, with design to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes to attach themselves to Sparta.

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and was advancing towards Mantinea, he formed an enterprise, which, he believed, would immortalize his name, and entirely

[r] Xenoph. l. vii. p. 642—644. Plut. in Agesil. p. 615. Diod. p. 391, 392.

reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegæa in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different route from that of Agesilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprise, as it had neither walls, defence, nor troops: but happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all possible haste to apprise Agesilaus of his design, he immediately dispatched one of his horse to advise the city of the danger that threatened it, and arrived there soon after in person.

He had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without some attempt. [z] He therefore made his troops advance, and making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city in several quarters, penetrated as far as the public square, and seized that part of Sparta which lay upon the side of the river. Agesilaus made head every where, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He saw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive; but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of despair; means which he had never yet used, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great success in the present dangerous emergency. For by this happy despair and prudent audacity, he in a manner snatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His son Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greatest, and with his small troop stopped the enemy, and made head against them on all sides.

A young Spartan, named Isadas, distinguished

[z] Polyb. l. ix. p. 547.

himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome, perfectly well shaped, of an advantageous stature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor clothes, his body shone with oil, and he held a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. In this condition he rushed with impetuosity from his house, and breaking through the throng of the Spartans that were fighting, he threw himself upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself, whether it were that the enemy were dismayed at so astonishing a sight, or whether, says Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him upon account of his extraordinary valour. It is said, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle, in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him a thousand drachmas [a] for having exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

Epaminondas, having failed in his aim, and foreseeing that the Arcadians would certainly hasten to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedæmonian forces upon his hands at the same time, returned with expedition to Tegæa. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him close in the rear.

[b] That general, considering his command was upon the point of expiring, and that if he did not fight, his reputation might suffer extremely, and that immediately after his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness for battle.

The Greeks had never fought amongst themselves with more numerous armies. That of the Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the Theban army of thirty thousand foot and near three thousand horse.

[a] About 25*l*. [b] Xenoph. l. vii. p. 645—647.

Upon the right wing of the former, the Matineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians, were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the centre; and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre. The cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose, in the disposition of his army, a time which cannot be too much saved in great enterprises.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column along the hills with his left wing foremost, to make them imagine that he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over-against them at a quarter of a league's distance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy in fact were deceived by that stand, and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to extinguish which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers.

Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slow, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of

the battle upon troops on whom he could not rely.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops which he commanded in person, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy in a point like a galley, says Xenophon. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of their army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon the rising ground in readiness to flank the Athenians, as well to cover his right, as to alarm them; and gave them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprised when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

Whilst Epaminondas was marching against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thessalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had judiciously planted bowmen, slingers, and lancers in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins upon them. The other army had neglected to take the same precaution, and had committed another fault, not less considerable, in giving

as much depth to the squadrons as if they had been a phalanx. By this means their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made several ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had attacked the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops came to the charge on both sides with incredible ardour; both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began by fighting with the spear; and those first arms being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks, than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious slaughter on both sides having continued a great while without the victory's inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed therefore a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him, and putting himself at the head of them, made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. His troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid band, were compelled to give ground. The main body of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great slaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiv-

ing that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied, and returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned some of them, warded off others, and was fighting with the most heroic valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breast through his cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broken off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury; the one side using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to save him. The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not pursue them far; and returning immediately, contented themselves with remaining masters of the field and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing farther, as if they staid for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, dismayed by the accident of Epaminondas, whom they believed to be dead, and seeming rather vanquished than victorious, neglected to pursue their success in the same manner, and returned to their former post.

Whilst this was passing on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horse attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, besides the superiority of number, had the advantage of being seconded by the light infantry posted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their darts, broke and obliged them to fly. After having dispersed and repulsed them in this manner, instead of pursuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms against the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into disorder, and pushed with great vigour. Just as they were about to take to flight, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of reserve,

seeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the spur to its relief, charged the Theban horse, who expected nothing less, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the same time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at first, finding they were not pursued, rallied; and instead of going to the assistance of their foot, which was roughly handled, they attacked the detachment posted by the Thebans upon the heights without the line, and put it to the sword.

After these different movements, and this alternation of losses and advantages, the troops on both sides stood still and rested upon their arms; and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy: the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle; the Athenians, because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both sides refused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians, however, first sent a herald to demand that permission; after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain on their respective sides.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, which concludes his history, recommends to the reader's attention the disposition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle, which he describes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And the Chevalier Folard, who justly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greatest generals Greece ever produced, in his description of the same battle, ventures to call it the master-piece of that great captain.

Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Those words gave

all that were present the utmost sorrow and affliction: they were inconsolable on seeing so great a man about to die, and to die without issue. For him, the only concern he expressed was about his arms, and the success of the battle. When they showed him his shield, and assured him that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards his friends with a calm and serene air; "Do not "regard," said he, "this day as the end of my life, "but as the beginning of my happiness, and the "completion of my glory. I leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, and Greece delivered from the yoke of servitude. For the rest, "I do not reckon that I die without issue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illustrious daughters, "that will not fail to keep my name alive, and to "transmit it to posterity." Having spoken to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound, and expired.

It may be truly said, that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom Cicero* seems to rank above all the illustrious men Greece ever produced. † Justin is of the same opinion, when he says, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted, so Thebes, after having lost its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power seemed to have lost its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that city was not distinguished by any memorable action; and after him, it sunk into its original obscurity; so that it saw its glory take birth and expire with this great man.

* *Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ.* Acad. Quæst. l. i. n. 4.

† *Nam sicuti telo, si primam aciem præfregeris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi sustuleris; sic illo velut mucrone teli ablato duce Thebanorum, rei quoque publicæ vires hebetatæ sunt: ut non tam illum amisisse, quam cum illo omnes interiisse viderentur. Nam neque hunc ante ducem ullum memorabile bellum gessere, nec postea virtutibus, sed cladibus, insignes fuere: ut manifestum sit, patriæ gloriam et natam ei extinctam cum eo fuisse.* Justin. l. vi. c. 8.

It has been* doubted whether he was a more excellent captain or good man. He sought not power for himself, but for his country; and carried his disinterestedness to such a pitch, that at his death he did not leave sufficient wealth to defray the expences of his funeral. Truly a philosopher, and poor by inclination, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and, if Justin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him; and he behaved himself in them in such a manner, as did more honour to the dignities, than the dignities to him.

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a thousand crowns[c] in his name. That rich man coming to his house, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon such an errand;[d] "Why," replied Epaminondas, "it is because this honest man is in "want, and you are rich."†

He had‡ imbibed those generous and noble sentiments from the study of polite learning and philosophy, which he had made his usual employment and sole delight from his earliest infancy; so that it was surprising, and a question frequently asked, how, and at what time, it was possible for a man, always busy amongst books, to attain, or ra-

[c] A talent. [d] Plut. de præcept. reipub. ger. p. 809.

* *Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux esset. Nam et imperium non sibi semper sed patriæ quæsivit; et pecuniæ adeò parcùs fuit, ut sumptus funeri defuerit. Gloriæ quoque non cupidior, quàm pecuniæ; quippe recusanti omnia imperia ingesta sunt, honorèsque ita gessit, ut ornamentum non accipere, sed dare ipsi dignitati videretur.* Justin.

† Ὅτι χρηστὸς, εἶπεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν, πένης ἐστι: σὺ δὲ πλούσιος.

‡ *Jam literarum studium, jam philosophiæ doctrina tanta, ne mirabile videretur, unde tam insignis militiæ scientia homini inter literas nato.* Justin.

ther seize, the knowledge of the art military in so great a degree of perfection. Fond of leisure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, his darling passion, he shunned public employments, and intrigued only to exclude himself from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure and almost unknown. His merit, however, discovered him. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated that philosophy, though generally despised by those who aspire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully well calculated to form heroes. For besides its being the greatest step towards conquering the enemy to know how to conquer one's self, in this school* anciently were taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a due discharge of them, what we owe to our country, the right use of authority, wherein true courage consists; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain.

He possessed all the ornaments of the mind: he had the talent of speaking in perfection, and was well versed in the most sublime sciences. But a modest reserve threw a veil over all those excellent qualities, which still augmented their value, and he knew not what it was to be ostentatious of them. Spintharus, in giving his character, said, [e] "That "he never had met with a man, who knew more, "and spoke less."

It may be said therefore in praise of Epaminondas, that he falsified the proverb, which treated the Bœotians as boorish and stupid. This was the notion commonly entertained of them;† and it was imputed to the gross air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taste was attributed to the subtlety

[e] Plut. de audit. p. 39.

* The works of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle, are proofs of this.

† *Inter locorum naturas quantum intersit, videmus—Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani.* Cic. de Fato, n. 7.

of the air they breathed. Horace says, that to judge of Alexander from his bad taste for poetry, one would swear him a true Bœotian:

Bœotum in crasso jurares aëre natum. Epist. i. l. 2.
In thick Bœotian air you'd swear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little inclination to music, he thought fit to make this excuse; "It is for Thebans * to sing as they do, "who know not how to speak." Pindar and Plutarch, who had very little of the soil in them, and who are proofs that genius is of all nations, do themselves condemn the stupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatness of his military exploits, but by that sort of merit which results from elevation of genius and the study of the sciences.

I shall conclude this portrait and character with a circumstance that gives place to nothing in all his other excellencies, and which may even be preferred to them, as it indicates a good heart, and a tenderness and sensible disposition; qualities very rare amongst the great, but infinitely more estimable than all those splendid attributes which the generality of mankind commonly gaze at with admiration, and fancy almost the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring states upon Epaminondas, and caused him to be looked upon as the support and restorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece; in a word, as the greatest man, and the most excellent captain, that ever was in the world. In the midst of this universal applause, so capable of intoxicating, in a manner, the general of an army, Epaminondas, little sensible to so affecting and so deserved a glory, [f] "My

[f] Plut. in Coriol. p. 215.

* They were great musicians.

"joy," said he, "arises from my sense of that "which the news of my victory will give my father "and my mother."

Nothing in history seems to me so valuable as such sentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart which neither false glory nor false greatness have corrupted. I confess it is with grief I see these noble sentiments daily expire amongst us, especially in persons whose birth and rank raise them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good sons, good husbands, nor good friends; and who would think it derogatory to them to express for a father and mother the tender regard, of which we have here so fine an example from a Pagan.

Until Epaminondas's time, two cities had exercised alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The justice and moderation of Sparta had at first acquired it a distinguished pre-eminence, which the pride and haughtiness of its generals, and especially of Pausanias, soon made it lose. The Athenians, until the Peleponnesian war, held the first rank; but in a manner scarce discernible in any other respect, than in their care to acquit themselves worthily, and in giving their inferiors just reason to believe themselves their equals. They judged at that time, and very justly, that the true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evince their superiority only by their good offices and the benefits they conferred. Those times, so glorious for Athens, were of about forty-five years' continuance, and they retained a part of that pre-eminence during the twenty-seven years of the Peleponnesian war, which make in all the seventy-two, or seventy-three years, which Demosthenes assigns to the duration of their empire:[g] but for this latter space of time, the Greeks, disgusted by the haughtiness of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedæ-

[g] Demost. Philip. iii. p. 89.

monians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued so from the time Lysander made himself master of Athens, until the first war undertaken by the Athenians, after their re-establishment by Conon, to withdraw themselves and the rest of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more insolent than ever. At length, Thebes disputed the supremacy; and by the exalted merit of a single man, saw itself at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance, and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already observed, plunged it again into the obscurity in which he found it.

Demosthenes remarks, in the passage above cited, that the pre-eminence granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a pre-eminence of honour, not of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preserve a kind of equality and independence in the other cities. Hence, says he, when the governing city attempted to ascribe to itself what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations, contrary to the rules of justice, in established customs, all the Greeks thought themselves obliged to have recourse to arms, and without any ground of personal discontent, to espouse with ardour the cause of the injured.

I shall add here another very judicious reflection from Polybius.[h] He attributes the wise conduct of the Athenians, in the times I have spoken of, to the ability of the generals, who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes use of a comparison, which explains, not unhappily, the character of that people. A vessel without a master, says he, is exposed to great dangers, when every one insists upon its being steered according to his opinion, and will not suffer others to guide him. If then a rude storm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them; they abandon themselves to the pilot's skill,

[h] Polyb. l. vii. p. 488.

and all the rowers doing their duty, the ship is saved, and in a state of security. But if, when the tempest ceases, and the weather grows calm again, the discord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and some are for continuing their voyage, whilst others resolve to stop in the midst of the course; if on one side they loose their sails, and furl them on the other; it often happens that, after having escaped the most violent storms, they are shipwrecked even in port. This, says Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republic. As long as it suffered itself to be guided by the wise counsels of an Aristides, a Themistocles, a Pericles, it came off victorious from the greatest dangers. But prosperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but its own caprice, and being become too insolent to be advised or governed, it plunged itself into the greatest misfortunes.

SECT. VIII. *Death of Evagoras king of Salamis. Nicocles his son succeeds him. Admirable character of that prince.*

A.M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. [i] THE third year of the 101st Olympiad, and soon after the Thebans had destroyed Platææ and Thespiæ, as has been observed before, Evagoras, king of Salamis in the isle of Cyprus, of whom much has been said in the preceding volume, was assassinated by one of his eunuchs. His son Nicocles succeeded him. He had a fine model before him in the person of his father; and he seemed to consider it as his duty to make it his study, and to tread in his steps.[k] When he took possession of the throne, he found the public treasury entirely exhausted, by the great expences which his father had been obliged to incur in the long war which he had

[i] Diod. l. xv. p. 363. [k] Isocrat. in Nicoc. p. 64.

to maintain with the king of Persia. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occasions, think every means just for the re-establishment of their affairs; but for his part, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscation of estates. The public felicity was his sole object, and justice his favourite virtue. He discharged the debts of the state gradually; not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expences, and by using a wise economy in the administration of his revenues. [l] "I am sure," said he, "that no citizen can complain that I have done him "the least wrong; and I have the satisfaction to "know that I have enriched many with an un-"sparing hand." He believed this kind of vanity, if it be vanity, might be permitted in a prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to throw out such a defiance to his subjects.

[m] He piqued himself also in particular upon another virtue, which is the more worthy of admiration in princes, as it is very uncommon among them; I mean temperance. It is most amiable, but very difficult, in an age and a rank of life to which every thing seems to be lawful, and wherein pleasure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambush for a young prince, and anticipating his desires, to make a long resistance against the violence and insinuation of her assaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman besides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts should be treated with due regard in civil society, whilst that of marriage, the most sacred and inviolable of obligations, was broken through with impunity; and that men should not blush to commit an infidelity in respect to their wives, of which, should their wives be guilty, it would throw them into the utmost anguish and despair.

[l] Isocrat. p. 65, 66. [m] Ibid. p. 64.

What I have said of the justice and temperance of Nicocles, Isocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he would have made him speak in such a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with such sentiments. It is in a discourse, supposed to be addressed by that king to his people, wherein he describes to them the duties of subjects to their princes: love, respect, obedience, fidelity, and unbounded devotion to their service; and to engage them more effectually to the discharge of those duties, he does not disdain to give them an account of his own conduct and sentiments.

[n] In another discourse, which precedes this, Isocrates lays before Nicocles all the duties of the sovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that subject, of which I can repeat here only a very small part. He begins by telling him that the virtue of private persons is much better supported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment and cares inseparable from it, by the misfortunes to which they are frequently exposed, by their distance from pleasures and luxury, and particularly by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas, the generality of princes have none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and inactive life, should set apart a fixed time for business and the public affairs, should form his council of the most able and experienced persons in his kingdom, should endeavour to make himself as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom as he is by his dignity, and especially to acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. "Persist," said he, "in the religion you "have received from your forefathers, but be as- "sured that the most grateful adoration and sacri- "fice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that of

[n] Isocrat. ad Nicoc.

" the heart, in rendering yourself good and just. " Show, upon all occasions, so high a regard for " truth, that a single word from you may be more " confided in than the oath of others. Be a war- " rior, by your ability in military affairs, and by " such a warlike provision as may intimidate your " enemies; but let your inclinations be pacific, " and be rigidly exact in never pretending to, or " undertaking any thing unjustly. The only certain " proof that you have reigned well, will be the " power of bearing this testimony to yourself; that " your people are become both more happy and " more wise under your government."

What seems to me most remarkable in this discourse, is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and it is still more to the credit of the prince than the writer. Nicocles, far from being offended at these counsels, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to say, twenty thousand crowns.[o]

SECT. IX. *Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes the reduction of Egypt. Iphicrates the Athenian is appointed general of the Athenian troops. The enterprise miscarries by the ill conduct of Pharnabasus the Persian general.*

ARTAXERXES, after having given his people an interval of relaxation for several years, had formed the design of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377.

[o] Plut. in vit. Isoc. p. 838. [p] Diod. l. xv. p. 328, 347.

reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks and other auxiliary soldiers, of whom Chabrias the Athenian had the command.[q] He had accepted that office of himself, and without the authority of the republic.

Pharnabasus, having been charged with this war, sent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republic with the king's resentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the king's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. [r] Achoris king of Egypt died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nepheritus was the next, and four months after Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.

A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. [s] Artaxerxes, to draw some troops out of Greece, sent ambassadors thither, to declare to the several states, that the king's intent was they should all live in peace with each other, conformably to the treaty of Antalcidas, that all garrisons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleasure, except the Thebans, who refused to conform to it.

[q] Cor. Nep. in Chab. et in Iphic. [r] Euseb. in Chron.
[s] Diod. xv. p. 355.

'At length, every thing being in readiness for the invasion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Aco, since called Ptolemais, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabasus, and twenty thousand Greeks under Iphicrates. The naval forces were in proportion to those of the land; their fleet consisting of three hundred galleys, besides two hundred vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the fleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the same time; and that they might act in concert, they separated from each other as little as possible. The war was to open with the siege of Pelusium; but so much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable, both by sea and land. The fleet, therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, sailed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile called the Mendesian. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, of which only two* remain at this day; and at each of these mouths there was a fort with a strong garrison to defend the entrance. The Mendesian not being so well fortified as that of Pelusium, where the enemy was expected to land, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried sword in hand, and no quarter given to those who were found in it.

After this signal action, Iphicrates thought it advisable to sail up the Nile without loss of time, and to attack Memphis, the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had had time to recover the panic, into which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them, they would have found the

† Diod. l. xv. p. 358, 359. * Damietta and Rosetta.

capital without any defence, it would inevitably have fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been reconquered. But the main body of the army not being arrived, Pharnabasus believed it necessary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-assembled all his troops; under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obstacle capable of withstanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that, in affairs of war especially, there are certain favourable and decisive moments, which it is absolutely proper to seize, judged quite differently; and in despair to see an opportunity suffered to escape, that might never be retrieved, he earnestly demanded permission to go at least with the twenty thousand men under his command. Pharnabasus refused to comply with that demand, out of abject jealousy; apprehending, that if the enterprise succeeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garrison into Memphis, and with the rest of their army kept the field, and harassed the Persians in such a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Persians were obliged to return into Phœnicia, after having lost a considerable part of their troops to no purpose.

Thus this expedition, which had cost immense sums, and for which the preparations alone had given so much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miscarried, and produced no other effect than an irreconcileable enmity between the two generals who had the command of it. Pharnabasus, to excuse himself, accused Iphicrates of having prevented its success; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, laid all the fault upon Pharnabasus. But well assured that that nobleman would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering

what had happened to Conon, he determined, in order to avoid the fate of that illustrious Athenian, to retire secretly to Athens in a small vessel which he hired. Pharnabasus caused him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition against Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made answer, that if he could be convicted of that crime, he should be punished as he deserved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any disquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in question about it; and some time after, the Athenians declared him sole admiral of their fleet.

[u] Most of the projects of the Persian court generally miscarried by their slowness in putting them in execution. Their generals' hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their discretion. They had a plan marked out for them in their instructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreseen and provided for, they must wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived the opportunity was entirely lost. Iphicrates, having observed that Pharnabasus took his resolutions with all the presence of mind and penetration that could be desired in an accomplished general, [x] and that nevertheless they were not carried into execution, asked him one day, how it happened that he was so quick in his views and so slow in his actions? "It is," replied Pharnabasus, "because my views depend only upon "myself, but their execution upon my master."

[u] Diod. l. xv. p. 358. [x] Ibid. p. 357.

SECT. X. *The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to the aid of Tachos, who had revolted from the Persians. The king of Sparta's actions in Egypt. His death. The greatest part of the provinces revolt against Artaxerxes.*

[y] AFTER the battle of Mantinea, both parties equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the king of Persia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was secured to each city; and the Messenians were included in it, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who resolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time. That resolution, of which Agesilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, insatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republic again in inevitable misfortunes, from the necessity to which the want of money exposed them of borrowing great sums, and of levying heavy imposts, instead of taking advantage of the favourable opportunity that now offered to conclude a peace, and put an end to all their evils.

A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. [z] Whilst matters were thus passing in Greece, Tachos, who had ascended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himself against the king of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his past endeavours to reduce that kingdom.

For this purpose Tachos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians,

[y] Plut. in Agesil. p. 616—618. Diod. l. xv. p. 397—401.
[z] Xenoph. de reg. Agesil. p. 663. Cor. Nep. in Agesil. c. viii.

with Agesilaus to command them, whom he promised to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacedæmonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, from his having forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, and were rejoiced to have this opportunity of expressing their resentment. Chabrias the Athenian went also into the service of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republic's participation.

This commission did Agesilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was then more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to serve a barbarian who had revolted against his master.

As soon as he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals and the great officers of his house came to his ship, to receive and make their court to him. The rest of the Egyptians were as solicitous to see him, from the great expectation which the name and renown of Agesilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the shore for that purpose. But when, instead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea which his exploits had led them to entertain of him, they saw nothing splendid or majestic either in his person or equipage, and saw only an old man of a mean aspect and small stature, without any striking appearance, and dressed in a sorry robe of a very coarse stuff, they were seized with an immoderate disposition to laugh, and applied the fable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was very much surprised at finding that he was not appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the sea-forces, and that Tachos retained the command-in-chief to himself. This was not the only mortification he had to experience.

Tachos came to a resolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the seat of the war, than to await the enemy in Egypt. Agesilaus, who knew better, represented to him in vain, that his affairs were not sufficiently established to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would do much better to remain in them, and content himself with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. Agesilaus was so much incensed at such conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms against him during his absence, and had placed Nectanebus his * cousin upon the throne. Agesilaus, abandoning the king to whose aid he had been sent, and joining the rebel who had dethroned him, alleged in justification of himself, that he was sent to the assistance of the Egyptians; and that they having taken up arms against Tachos, he was not at liberty to serve against them without new orders from Sparta. He dispatched expresses thither; and the instructions he received were, to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebus. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but even gave him the command of his troops against the rebels.

Agesilaus covered so criminal a conduct with the veil of the public utility. But, says Plutarch, let that delusive blind be removed, the most just and only true name which can be given the action, is that of perfidy and treason. It is true that the Lacedæmonians, making the glorious and the good consist principally in the service of their country, which they idolized, knew no other justice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of

* Diodorus calls him his son; Plutarch, his cousin.

Sparta and the extending of its dominions. I am surprised so judicious an author as Xenophon should endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by saying only, that Agesilaus attached himself to that of the two kings who seemed the best affected to Greece.

At the same time, a third prince, of the city of Mendes, set up for himself, to dispute the crown with Nectanebus. This new competitor had an army of a hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave his advice to attack them before they were exercised and disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it would have been easy to have defeated a body of people raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebus imagined that Agesilaus only gave him this advice to betray him afterwards, as he had done Tachos. He therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops, who soon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls and of very great extent. Agesilaus was obliged to follow him thither; where the Mendesian prince besieged them Nectanebus would then have attacked the enemy before his works, (which were begun in order to surround the city,) were advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refused to comply at first, which extremely augmented the suspicions conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line as the troops within the city might occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebus that it was time to attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent their surrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in such a manner as that they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to Agesilaus's plan; the besiegers were beaten, and from thenceforth Agesilaus conducted all the operations of the war

with so much success, that the prince their enemy was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361. The following winter, after having firmly established Nectanebus, he embarked to return to Lacedæmon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place called the port of Menelaus, where he fell sick and died, at the age of fourscore and four years. He had reigned forty-one of them at Sparta; and of those forty-one he had passed thirty with the reputation of the greatest and most powerful of all the Greeks, and had been looked upon as the leader and king of almost all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely support the reputation he had acquired; and Xenophon, in his eulogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much.

The body of Agesilaus was carried to Sparta. Those who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan custom to cover the bodies they wished to embalm, made use of wax in its stead. His son Archidamus succeeded to the throne, which continued in his house down to Agis, who was the fifth king of the line of Agesilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greatest part of the provinces in subjection to Persia revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occasion of this defection. That prince, of himself, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people and was beloved by them. He had abundance of mildness and sweetness of temper in his character; but that easiness degenerated into sloth and luxury, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he discovered a dislike for all business and application, from whence the good qualities which he otherwise possessed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became useless and without effect. The satraps and governors of provinces,

abusing his favour and the infirmities of his great age, oppressed the people, treated them with insolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes, and did every thing in their power to render the Persian yoke insupportable.

The discontent became general, and broke out, after long suffering, almost at the same time on all sides. Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces, declared themselves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conspiracy were, Ariobarzanes satrap of Phrygia, Mausolus king of Caria, Orontes governor of Mysia, and Autophradates governor of Lydia. Datames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was also engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder would not have been sufficient for the expences of a war against the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance; and those who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, were also the foremost in resuming it, and in betraying the interests of the others, to make their peace with the king.

The provinces of Asia Minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had chosen Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand foreign troops to those of the country, and had charged the same Orontes with the care of raising them. But when he had got the money for that service into his hands, with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himself, and delivered to the king the persons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Reomithras, another of the chiefs of Asia Minor, being sent into *Egypt to draw succours from that

* Diodorus says he was sent to Tachos, but it is more likely that it was to Nectanebus.

kingdom, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country five hundred talents and fifty ships of war, he assembled the principal revolters at Leucas, a city of Asia Minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negociation, seized them all, delivered them to the king to make his peace, and kept the money he had received in Egypt for the confederacy. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, dissolved of itself, or, to speak more properly, was suspended for some time.

Sect. XI. *Troubles at the court of Artaxerxes concerning his successor. Death of that prince.*

[a] The end of Artaxerxes's reign abounded with cabals. The whole court were divided into factions in favour of one or other of his sons, who pretended to the succession. He had a hundred and fifty by his concubines, who were in number three hundred and sixty, and three by his lawful wife Atossa; Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these intrigues, he declared Darius, the eldest, his successor; and to remove all cause of disputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to assume from thenceforth the title of king, and to wear the royal *tiara. But the young prince was for having something more real. Besides which, the refusal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incensed him, and he formed a conspiracy against his father's life, wherein he engaged fifty of his brothers.

[a] Plut. in Artax. p. 1024—1027. Diod. l. xv. p. 400. Justin. l. x. c. 1 & 2.

* This tiara was a turban, or kind of head-dress, with the plume of feathers standing upright upon it. The seven counsellors had also plumes of feathers, but these they wore aslant, and before. All others wore them aslant, and behind.

It was Tiribasus, of whom mention has been made several times in the preceding volume, who contributed the most to his taking so unnatural a resolution, from a like subject of discontent against the king; who, having promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke his word both times, and married them himself: Such abominable incest was permitted at that time in Persia, the religion of the nation not prohibiting it.

The number of the conspirators was already very great, and the day fixed for the execution, when an eunuch, well informed of the whole plot, discovered it to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise so great a danger, by neglecting a strict enquiry into it; but that it would be much more so, to give credit to it without certain and unquestionable proof. He assured himself of it with his own eyes. The conspirators were suffered to enter the king's apartment, and then seized. Darius and all his accomplices were punished as they deserved.

After the death of Darius, the cabals began again. Three of his brothers were competitors; Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames. The two former pretended to the throne in right of birth, being the sons of the queen. The third had the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, studied perpetually the means to rid himself of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his craft and artifice against Ariaspes, and his cruelty against Arsames. Knowing the former to be extremely simple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he had found means to corrupt, threaten him so terribly in the name of the king his father, that, expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. After this, there remained only Arsames to give him umbrage,

because his father and all the world considered that prince as most worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. Him he caused to be assassinated by Harpates, son of Tiribasus.

This loss, which followed close upon the other, and the exceeding wickedness with which both were attended, gave the old king a grief that proved mortal: nor is it surprising, that at his age he should not have strength enough to support so great an affliction. It overpowered him, and brought him to the grave, after a reign of forty-three years, which might have been called happy, if it had not been interrupted by many revolts. That of his successor will be no less disturbed with them.

A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

Sect. XII. *Causes of the frequent insurrections and revolts in the Persian empire.*

I have taken care in relating the seditions that happened in the Persian empire, to observe from time to time the abuses which occasioned them. But as these revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more so, especially in the succeeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here, under one point of view, the different causes of these insurrections, which foretell the approaching decline of the Persian empire.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Persia abandoned themselves more and more to the charms of voluptuousness and luxury, and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces, amongst women and a crowd of flatterers, they contented themselves with enjoying, in soft effeminate ease and idleness, the pleasure of universal command, and made their grandeur consist in the splendid glare of riches and an expensive magnificence.

II. They were, besides, princes of no great talents

for the conduct of affairs, of small capacity in the art of governing, and void of taste for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor sufficient strength to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of public business, the fatigues of commanding armies, and the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprises; confining their ambition to bearing alone the lofty title of the Great King, and the King of kings.

III. The great offices of the crown, the government of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either the claim of service or merit. It was the influence of the favourites, the secret intrigues of the court, the solicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons who were to fill the most important posts of the empire, and appropriated the rewards due to the officers who had done the state real service, to their own creatures.

IV. These courtiers, frequently, through a base and mean jealousy of the merit that gave them umbrage and reproached their small abilities, removed their rivals from public employments, and rendered their talents useless to the state. * Sometimes they would even cause their fidelity to be suspected by false informations, bring them to trial as criminals against the state, † and force the king's most faithful servants, in order to defend themselves against their calumniators, to seek their safety in revolting, and in turning those arms against their prince, which they had so often made triumph for his glory and the service of the empire.

V. The ministers, to hold the generals in dependence, restrained them under such limited orders as obliged them to let slip the opportunities of conquering, and prevented them, by waiting for new orders, from pushing their advantages. They

* Pharnabasus, Tiribasus. † Datames, &c.

also often made them responsible for their bad success, after having let them want every thing necessary to conduce to it.

VI. The kings of Persia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus and the ancient Persians, who contented themselves with cresses and salads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been infected with the contagion of this example. In retaining the single meal of their ancestors, they made it last during the greatest part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night by drinking to excess; and far from being ashamed of drunkenness, they made it their glory, as we have seen in the younger Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Caspian and Euxine to the Red Sea and Æthiopia, and from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Ægean Sea, was a great obstacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the satisfaction to enjoy the presence of their masters; who knew them only by the weight of their taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their satraps or governors; and who, in transporting themselves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find access to princes, who believed it contributed to the majesty of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia did not compose an uniform empire, nor the regular body of a state whose members were united by the common ties of interest, manners, language, and religion, and animated with the same spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. It was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultuous, and even forced assemblage of different nations, formerly free and independent; of whom some, who were torn from their native countries and the sepulchres of their forefathers, saw themselves with grief transported into unknown re-

gions, or amongst enemies, where they persevered in retaining their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. These different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation between them, but with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, desired nothing so ardently as their liberty and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people therefore were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire which was the sole obstacle to their so warm and just desires, and could not feel any affection for a government that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the viceroys of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raise and pay armies; to impose tributes; to adjudge the quarrels of cities, provinces, and vassal kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without colleagues or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accustomed them to the pleasure of commanding absolutely, and of reigning. In consequence of which, it was with great repugnance they submitted to be removed from their governments, and often endeavoured to support themselves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and ministers, gloried in imitating, in their equipages, tables, furniture, and dress, the pomp and splendour of the court in which they had been educated. To support so destructive a pride, and to supply expences so much above the fortunes of private persons, they were reduced to oppress the subjects under their

jurisdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions, and the shameful traffic of a public venality, that set those offices to sale for money, which ought to have been granted only to merit. All that vanity lavished, or luxury exhausted, was made good by mean arts, and the violent rapaciousness of an insatiable avarice.

These gross irregularities, and abundance of others, which remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented by impunity, tired the people's patience, and occasioned a general discontent amongst them, the usual forerunner of the ruin of states. Their just complaints, long time despised, were followed by an open rebellion of several nations, who endeavoured to do themselves that justice by force, which was refused to their remonstrances. In such a conduct, they failed in the submission and fidelity which subjects owe to their sovereigns; but Paganism did not carry its lights so far, and was not capable of so sublime a perfection, which was reserved for a religion that teaches, that no pretext, no injustice, no vexation, can ever authorize the rebellion of a people against their prince.

BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

SECT. I. *Ochus ascends the throne of Persia. His cruelties. Revolt of several nations.*

THE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced, that in succeeding to him, he should not find the same favourable dispositions in the people and nobility, by whom he had made himself abhorred for the murder of his two brothers. [a] To prevent that aversion from occasioning his exclusion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's person, to conceal his death from the public. He began by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders and sealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of those decrees he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, still by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed

[a] Polyæn. Stratag. vii.

in this manner almost ten months, believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and ascended the throne, taking upon himself the name of Artaxerxes. Authors, however, most frequently give him that of Ochus, by which name I shall generally call him in the sequel of this history.

A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions soon evinced. In a very short time the palace and the whole empire were filled with his murders. [b] To remove from the revolted provinces all pretext of setting some other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid himself at once of all trouble that the princes and princesses of the blood might occasion him, he put them all to death, without regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused his own sister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive; [c] and having shut up one of his uncles, with a hundred of his sons and grandsons, in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be shot to death with arrows, only because those princes were much esteemed by the Persians for their probity and valour. That uncle is probably the father of Sisygambis, the mother of Darius Codomannus: [d] for Quintus Curtius tells us that Ochus had caused fourscore of her brothers, with their father, to be massacred in one day. He treated with the same barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility whom he suspected of harbouring the least discontent whatsoever.

A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

[e] The cruelties exercised by Ochus did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabasus, governor of one of the Asiatic provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in those parts, to assist him, and with his aid

[b] Justin. l. x. c. 3.
[c] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.
[d] Quint. Curt. l. x. c. 5.
[e] Diod. l. xvi. p. 433, 434.

defeated an army of seventy thousand men sent by the king to reduce him. Artabasus, in reward of so great a service, made Chares a present of money to defray the whole expences of his armament. The king of Persia resented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians towards him. They were at that time employed in the war of the allies. The king's menace to join their enemies with a numerous army obliged them to recall Chares.

Artabasus, being abandoned by them, had recourse to the Thebans, of whom he obtained five thousand men that he took into his pay, with Pammenes to command them. This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two signal victories over the king's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops and their commander great honour. Thebes must have been extremely incensed against the king of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republic was engaged in a war with the Phocæans. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. [f] It is certain that soon after they made their peace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents, that is to say, three hundred thousand crowns. Artabasus, destitute of all support, was overcome at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon. A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

Ochus being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts towards Egypt, that had revolted long before. About the same time several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no connection with the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here, after which I shall return to the reign of Ochus, not to interrupt the series of his history.

[f] Diod. l. xvi. p. 438.

Sect. II. *War of the Allies against the Athenians.*

A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358. Some few years after the revolt of Asia Minor, of which I have been speaking, in the third year of the hundred-and-fifth Olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against Athens, upon which till then they had been dependent. To reduce them, the Athenians employed both great forces and great captains; Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. * They were the last of the Athenian generals, who did honour to their country; no one after them distinguishing himself by his merit or reputation.

[s] Chabrias had already acquired a great name, when, having been sent to the aid of the Thebans, against the Spartans, and seeing himself abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken flight, he sustained alone the charge of the enemy; his soldiers, by his order, having closed their files with one knee upon the ground, covered with their bucklers, and presenting their pikes in front, in such a manner that they could not be broken; and Agesilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a statue to Chabrias in the attitude in which he had fought.

Iphicrates was of a very mean extraction, his father having been a shoemaker. But in a free city like Athens, merit was the sole nobility. This person may be truly said to have been the son of his actions. Having signalized himself in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private soldier, he was soon after employed with distinction, and honoured with a command. In a prosecution carried on

[s] Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. i.

* *Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicratis, Chabriæ, Timothei: neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illâ urbe fuit dignus memoriâ.* Cor. Nep. in Timot. c. iv.

against him before the judges, his accuser, who was one of the descendants of Harmodius, and plumed himself extremely upon his ancestor's name, having reproached him with the baseness of his birth; "Yes," replied he, "the nobility of my family be-"gins in me: that of yours ends in you." He married the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace.

[h] He is * ranked with the greatest men of Greece, especially in what regards the knowledge of war and military discipline. He made several useful alterations in the soldiers' armour. Before his time the bucklers were very long and heavy, and for that reason were too great a burden, and extremely cumbersome. He had them made shorter and lighter, so that, without exposing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the contrary, he lengthened the pikes and swords, to make them capable of reaching the enemy at a greater distance. He also changed the cuirasses, and instead of iron and brass, of which they were made before, he caused them to be made of linen. It is not easy to conceive how such armour could defend the soldiers, or be any security against wounds: but the linen, being soaked in vinegar, mingled with salt, was prepared in such a manner that it grew hard, and became impenetrable to the sword as well as fire. The use of it was common amongst several nations.

No troops were ever better exercised or disciplined than those of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action, and in times of peace and tranquillity made them perform all the necessary evolutions, either for attacking the enemy or defending themselves; for laying ambuscades, or avoiding them; for keeping their ranks even in the pursuit of the enemy, without abandoning themselves to an ardour

[h] Diod. l. xv. p. 360. Cor. Nep. in Iphic. c. i.

* *Iphicrates Atheniensis, non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quàm disciplinâ militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solùm ætatis suæ cum primis compararetur, sed ne de majoribus natu quidem quisquam anteponeretur.* Cor. Nep.

which often becomes pernicious; or to rally with success, after having begun to break and give way. So that when a battle was to be fought, on the first signal all was in motion with admirable promptitude and order. The officers and soldiers drew themselves up, of their own accord, in order of battle, and even in the heat of action performed their parts as the most able general would have directed them: a merit very rare, as I have been informed, but very estimable; as it contributes more than can be imagined to the gaining of a battle, and implies a very uncommon superiority of genius in the general.

TIMOTHÉUS was the son of Conon, so much celebrated for his great actions and the important services he had rendered his country. * He did not degenerate from his father's reputation, either with regard to his merit in the field or his ability in the government of the state; but he added to those excellences the glory which results from the talents of the mind, having distinguished himself particularly by the gift of eloquence and a taste for the sciences.

[1] No captain at first ever experienced less than himself the inconstancy of the fortune of war. He had only to undertake an enterprise, to accomplish it. Success perpetually attended his views and desires. Such uncommon prosperity did not fail to excite jealousy. Those who envied him, as I have already observed, caused him to be painted asleep, with Fortune by his side taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coolly, "If I take places in my "sleep, what shall I do when I am awake?" He took the thing afterwards more seriously; and, angry with those who pretended to lessen the glory of his actions, declared in public, that he did not owe his

[1] Plut. Syll. p. 454.

* *Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus, neque minùs civitatis regendæ.* Cor. Nep. c. i.

Timotheus Cononis filius, cùm belli laude non inferior fuisset quàm pater, ad eam laudem doctrinæ et ingenii gloriam adjecit. Cic. l. i. de Offic. n. 116.

success to Fortune, but to himself. That goddess, says Plutarch, offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was never successful afterwards. Such were the chiefs employed in the war of the allies.

[k] The war and the campaign opened with the siege of Chio. Chares commanded the land, and Chabrias the sea forces. All the allies exerted themselves in sending aid to that island. Chabrias, having forced the mouth of the harbour, entered it, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the enemy. The other galleys were afraid to follow, and abandoned him. He was immediately surrounded on all sides, and his vessel exceedingly damaged by the assaults of the enemy. He might have saved himself by swimming to the Athenian fleet, as his soldiers did; but from a mistaken principle of glory, he thought it inconsistent with the duty of a general to abandon his vessel in such a manner, and preferred a death, glorious in his opinion, to a shameful flight.

This first attempt having miscarried, both sides applied themselves vigorously to making new preparations. The Athenians fitted out a fleet of sixty galleys, and appointed Chares to command it, and armed sixty more under Iphicrates and Timotheus. The fleet of the allies consisted of a hundred sail. After having ravaged several islands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great booty, they undertook the siege of Samos. The Athenians on their side, having united all their forces, besieged Byzantium. The allies made all possible haste to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other, were preparing to fight, when suddenly a violent storm arose; notwithstanding which, Chares resolved to advance against the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than he, thought it improper to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at

[k] Diod. l. xvi. p. 412. Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. iv.

their not following his advice, called the soldiers to witness, that it was not his fault they did not defeat the enemy. He was naturally vain, ostentatious, and self-conceited; one who exaggerated his own services, depreciated those of others, and arrogated to himself the whole glory of success. He wrote to Athens against his two colleagues, and accused them of cowardice and treason. Upon his complaint, the people, * capricious, warm, suspicious, and naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled those two generals, and brought them to a trial.

The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared against Timotheus, he was sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred talents; † a worthy reward for the noble disinterestedness he had shown upon another occasion, in bringing home to his country twelve hundred talents ‡ arising from the booty taken from the enemy, without reserving any part for himself! He could bear no longer the sight of an ungrateful city, and, being too poor to pay so great a fine, retired to Chalcis. After his death, the people, touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his son Conon pay, to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by an event sufficiently odd, those very walls, which his grandfather had rebuilt with the spoils of the enemy, the grandson, to the shame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expence.

Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself before the judges. It was upon this occasion that Aristophon, another Athenian captain, accused him of having betrayed and sold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with the confidence which an established reputation inspires, asked him,

[1] Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23.

* *Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis, adversarius, invidus etiam potentiæ, domum revocat.* Cor. Nep.

† A hundred thousand crowns.

‡ Twelve hundred thousand crowns.

"Would you have committed a treason of this "nature?" "No," replied Aristophon, "I am a "man of too much honour for such an action!" "How!" replied Iphicrates, "could Iphicrates do "what Aristophon would not do?"

[m] He did not employ the force of arguments alone in his defence, he called in also the assistance of arms. Instructed by his colleague's ill success, he saw plainly that it was more necessary to intimidate than convince his judges. He posted round the place where they assembled a number of young persons armed with poniards, which they took care to show from time to time. They could not resist so forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and dismissed him with an acquittal. When he was afterwards reproached with so violent a proceeding; "I should have been a fool indeed," said he, "if, having made war successfully for the Athe-"nians, I had neglected doing so for myself."

Chares, by the recall of his two colleagues, was left sole general of the whole army, and was in a condition of very much advancing the Athenian affairs in the Hellespont, if he had known how to resist the magnificent offers of Artabasus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Asia Minor against the king of Persia his master, besieged by an army of seventy thousand men, and just upon the point of being ruined from the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no thoughts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the assistance of Artabasus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward suitable to the service. The action of Chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the service of the republic for a foreign war, but had moreover offended the king of Persia, who threatened by his ambassadors to equip three hundred sail of ships in favour of the islanders who were united in a confederacy against Athens.

[m] Polyæn. Stratag. l. iii.

The credit of Chares saved him again upon this, as it had done several times before on similar occasions. The Athenians, intimidated by the king's menaces, applied themselves seriously to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this measure to them in a fine discourse,[n] which is still extant, wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demosthenes in almost all his orations, for abandoning themselves blindly to the insinuations of the orators who flatter their passions, whilst they treated those with contempt who give them the most salutary counsels. He applies himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the source of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance those happy days, so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, out of a noble and generous disinterestedness, sacrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty and the preservation of Greece, and compares them with those sad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had plunged both states successively into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not consist in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice; but in the wise government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. "A state," says he, "cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its neighbours, when it knows how to unite in all its measures two great qualities, justice and power, which mutually support each other, and ought to be inseparable. For as power, not regulated by the

[n] De Pace, seu socialis.

" motives of reason and justice, has recourse to the " most violent methods to crush and subvert what- " ever opposes it; so justice, when unarmed and " without power, is exposed to injury, and is inca- " pable of defending itself, or protecting others." The conclusion drawn by Isocrates from this reasoning is, that Athens, if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought to confine her dominion within just bounds, not to affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lording it over all other states; but to conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare herself the irreconcileable enemy of those who should presume to disturb that peace, or contravene such measures.

The peace was concluded accordingly under such conditions; and it was stipulated, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chio, and Cos, should enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner, after having continued three years. A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

SECT. III. *Demosthenes encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations made by Artaxerxes for war. He harangues them in favour of the Megalopolitans, and afterwards of the Rhodians. Death of Mausolus. Extraordinary grief of Artemisia his wife.*

THIS peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the king of Persia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage; and they were afraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which the king covered his real design.

Athens took the alarm upon this rumour. The orators increased the fears of the people by their discourses, and exhorted them to have immediate recourse to arms, to prevent the king of Persia by a previous declaration of war, and to make a league A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355.

with all the states of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in public at this time, and mounted the tribunal to give his opinion. He was twenty-eight years of age. (I shall speak more extensively of him shortly.) Upon the present occasion, more wise than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the procuring to the republic the aid of the Persians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner the proposals that had been made, lest he should render himself suspected; but admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the king of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented that it was not consistent with prudence, in an affair of such great consequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper, by a resolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a premature declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was necessary at present, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred sail, (and he entered into a copious detail of the means by which this was to be effected,)* and to hold the troops in readiness, to enable them to make an effectual and vigorous defence in case of being attacked; that by so doing, all the people of Greece, without farther invitation, would be sufficiently warned by the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of such an armament would be enough to induce the king of Persia to change his measures, admitting that he should have formed any designs against Greece.

For the rest, he was not of opinion that it was necessary to levy any immediate tax upon the estates of private persons, in order to provide for the expence of this war, which would not amount to a great sum, nor suffice for the occasion. "It is better,"

* I reserve this scheme for the seventh section, as it is rather curious, and very proper to explain in what manner the Athenians fitted out and maintained their fleets.

said he, "to rely upon the zeal and generosity of the "citizens. Our city may be said to be alone almost "as rich as all the other cities of Greece together." (He had before observed, that the estimate of the lands of Attica amounted to six thousand talents, about eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) "When we shall see the danger to be real and "imminent, every body will be ready to contribute "cheerfully to the expences of the war; as none "can be so void of reason, as to prefer the hazard "of losing their whole estate with their liberty, to "sacrificing a small part of it in order to preserve "themselves and their country.

"And we ought not to fear, as some people would "insinuate, that the great riches of the king of Per-"sia enable him to raise a great body of auxiliaries, "which will render his army formidable. Our "Greeks, when they are to march against Egypt, "or Orontes and the other barbarians, serve will-"ingly under the Persians; but none of them, I "dare affirm, not a single man of them, will ever "resolve to bear arms against Greece."

This discourse had its full effect. The refined and delicate address of the orator in advising the imposition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully giving reason to suppose at the same time that it would fall only upon the rich, whose zeal he commended, was well calculated to render abortive an affair which had no other foundation than in the overheated imagination of some orators, who were perhaps interested in the war they advised.

[o] Two years after, an enterprise of the Lacedæmonians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demosthenes another opportunity of signalizing his zeal and displaying his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedæmo- A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

[o] Diod. l. xv. p. 401.

nians great uneasiness, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved, therefore, to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who probably had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection. The other states concerned sent also their deputies thither, and the affair was debated before the people.

[p] Demosthenes first assigns, as the basis of his discourse, this principle; that it was of the utmost importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give law to the rest of Greece. For this purpose it was requisite to balance their power, and maintain always an exact equilibrium between them. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedæmonians, they will soon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we shall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the most certain means to preserve so necessary a balance between Sparta and Thebes; because whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilst the Arcadians are our allies, whose forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be superior to those of either of the two other states.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demosthenes was the alliance actually subsisting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, said the orators who opposed Demosthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change thus with the times? or is it consistent with justice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought," replied Demosthenes, whose very words I shall repeat in this place, "we* ought indeed always to have justice

[p] Demost. Orat. pro Megalop.

* Δεῖ σκοπεῖν μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ πράττειν τὰ δίκαια· συμπαρατηρεῖν δὲ, ὅπως ἅμα καὶ συμφέροντα ἔσται ταῦτα.

" in view, and to make it the rule of our conduct;
" but, at the same time, our conformity to it should
" be connected with the public good and the inter-
" est of the state. It has been a perpetual maxim
" with us to assist the oppressed." He cites the Lacedæmonians themselves, the Thebans, and Eubœans, as examples. " We have never varied from
" this principle. The reproach of changing, there-
" fore, ought not to fall upon us, but upon those
" whose injustice and usurpation oblige us to de-
" clare against them."

I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reason and the strictest justice that determine them; but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. This language is an effect and remnant of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the minds of all men, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are few who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also few, who observe it with fidelity and constancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of, nor were they ever less regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in states is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

[q] The Athenians, moved by the eloquent discourse of Demosthenes, sent three thousand foot and three hundred horse to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of * Pammenes. Megalopolis was reinstated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were obliged to return.

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tran-

[q] Diod. l. xv. p. 402.

* This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.

quillity they had reason to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus, king of Caria, who had assisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, imposed his own upon them. Having publicly declared himself for the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people, and made them suffer exceedingly. He died the second year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty-four years. [r] Artemisia his wife succeeded him; and as she was supported with all the influence of the king of Persia, she retained her power in the isles lately subjected.

A. M. 3650. Ant. J. C. 354.

In speaking here of Artemisia, it is proper to observe, that she must not be confounded with another Artemisia, who lived above a hundred and thirty years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who distinguished herself so much by her resolution and prudence in the naval battle of Salamis. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error, through inadvertency.

[s] This princess immortalized herself by the honours which she paid to the memory of Mausolus her husband. She caused a magnificent monument to be erected for him in Halicarnassus, which was called the *Mausolæum*, and for its beauty was esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world, and has caused the name of *Mausolæum* to be given to all great and magnificent structures of the same kind.

[t] She endeavoured also to eternize the name of Mausolus by other monuments, which she believed more durable than those of brass or marble, but which are often no better proof against the injuries of time; —I mean the productions of the mind. She caused excellent panegyrics to be made in honour of her husband, and proposed a prize of great value for the person whose performance should be the best. Amongst many others, the celebrated Isocrates, and Theopompus his disciple, were competitors for it.

[r] Diod. l. xvi. p. 435. [s] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.
[t] Aul. Gel. l. x. c. 18. Plut. in Isocrat. p. 838.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakness and vanity to boast in public of having gained the prize against his master; preferring, as is too common, the reputation of fine parts to that of a good heart. He had represented Mausolus in his history as a prince most sordidly avaricious, who thought all means of amassing treasure legitimate. He painted him, without doubt, in very different colours in his panegyric, or else he would never have pleased the princess.

[u] That illustrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mausolus, from that I have been speaking of. Having gathered his ashes, and caused the bones to be beaten in a mortar, she mingled some of the powder every day in her drink, till she had drunk it all off; desiring by that means to make her own body the sepulchre of her husband. She survived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Instead of the tears in which most writers plunge Artemisia during her widowhood, there are some who say she made very considerable conquests. [x] It appears by one of Demosthenes's orations, that she was not considered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have something more decisive upon this head. [y] Vitruvius tells us, that after the death of Mausolus, the Rhodians, indignant that a woman should reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpose with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnassus. The queen being informed of their design, had given the inhabitants orders to appear upon the walls, and when the enemy should arrive, to express by shouts and clapping of hands their readiness to surrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ships, and went in all haste to the place, leaving their fleet without any to

[u] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 75. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6.
[x] Demost. de Libertat. Rhod. p. 145.
[y] Vitruv. de Architect. l. ii. c. 8.

guard it. In the mean time, Artemisia came out with her galleys from the little port, through a small canal which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, seized the enemy's fleet, which was incapable of making any resistance, and having put her soldiers and mariners on board of it, she set sail. The Rhodians, having no means of escaping, were all put to the sword. The queen in the mean time advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raised great shouts, and received, with extraordinary marks of joy, their victorious and triumphant fleet. It was so in fact, but in another sense than they imagined. Artemisia, having met with no resistance, took possession of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and set up two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisia branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians dared never demolish that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they surrounded it with a building which entirely prevented it from being seen.

All this, as Bayle observes in his Dictionary, does not indicate a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reasonable to suspect, that all the marvellous reports of the sorrow of Artemisia, may have no other foundation than being advanced at a venture by some writer, and afterwards copied by all the rest.

I should be better pleased, for the honour of Artemisia, if it had been said, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatness of mind, of which her sex affords many examples, she knew how to unite the severe affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen, and made the affairs of her government serve her instead of consolation. [z] *Negotia pro solatiis accipiens.*

[z] Tacit.

[a] The Rhodians being treated by Artemisia in the manner we have related, and unable to support any longer so severe and shameful a servitude, had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection. Though they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demosthenes notwithstanding took upon him to speak to the people in their behalf. He began with setting forth their crime in its full light; he aggravated their injustice and perfidy; he seemed to enter into the people's just sentiments of resentment and indignation; and it might have been thought he was going to declare in the strongest terms against the Rhodians: but all this was only an artifice of the orator, to insinuate himself into his auditors' good opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary sentiments of mildness and compassion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who nevertheless were come to implore the republic's protection. He sets before them the grand maxims, which in all ages had constituted the glory of Athens; of the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexes those of interest; in showing the importance of declaring for a city that favoured the democratic form of government, and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes. This is the substance of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, *For the liberty of the Rhodians.* A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351.

[b] The death of Artemisia, which happened the same year, it is very likely, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idrieus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had Artemisia. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their sisters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed their hus-

[a] Demost. de Libert. Rhod. [b] Strab. l. xiv. p. 656.

bands in the throne, in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

Sect. IV. *Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia and Cyprus, and afterwards against Egypt.*

A. M. 3659. Ant. J. C. 351

Ochus meditated in earnest the reduction of Egypt to its allegiance, which had long pretended to maintain itself in independence. Whilst he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phœnicia. [c] That people, oppressed by the Persian governors, resolved to throw off so heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebus king of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other passage for that invasion but through Phœnicia, this revolt was very seasonable for Nectanebus, who therefore sent Mentor the Rhodian to support the rebels, with four thousand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phœnicia his barrier, and to stop the Persians there. The Phœnicians took the field with that reinforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cilicia that had been sent against them, and drove the Persians entirely out of Phœnicia.

[d] The Cypriots, who were not better treated than the Phœnicians, seeing the good success which had attended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus sent orders to Idriæus, king of Caria, to make war against them; who immediately fitted out a fleet, and sent eight thousand Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras, who is believed to have been the son of Nicocles. It is probable that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced

[c] Diod. l. xvi. p. 439. [d] Ibid. p. 440, 441.

with pleasure this opportunity of re-ascending the throne. His knowledge of the country, and the party he still had there, might make the king of Persia choose him very judiciously to command in this expedition. They made a descent in the island, where their army increased to double its number by the reinforcements which came from Syria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, that was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the siege of Salamis by sea and land. The island of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, so considerable as to have each of them a petty king. But all those kings were, however, subjects of Persia. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independent.

Ochus, having observed that the Egyptian wars had always been unsuccessful from the ill conduct of the generals sent thither, resolved to take the command in person. But before he set out, he signified his desire to the states of Greece, that they would put an end to their divisions, and cease to make war upon one another.

It is a just matter of surprise that the court of Persia should insist so earnestly and so often, that the people of Greece should live in tranquillity with each other, and observe inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcidas, the principal end of which was the establishment of a lasting union amongst them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy.

Ever since the miscarriage of the enterprise against Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and silver a more proper means for subjecting it than that of the sword, the Persians did not attack it with open force, but by the method of secret intrigues. They conveyed considerable sums into it privately, to corrupt those who had most influence and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occasions to arm them against each other, and to de-

prive them of the leisure and means of invading themselves. They were particularly careful to declare sometimes for one, sometimes for another, in order to support a kind of balance amongst them, which put it out of the power of any of those republics to aggrandize itself too much, and by that means to become formidable to Persia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to observe an universal peace, upon pain of incurring their displeasure and arms, against such as should disobey. Persia, without doubt, did not take that resolution at a venture, and had its reasons for behaving in such a manner towards Greece.

Its design might be to soften their spirit by degrees, by disarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour which spurred them on perpetually by noble emulation; to extinguish in them their passion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inaction and forced ease, the activity natural to them; and, in fine, to bring them into the number of those nations, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who lose in sloth and peace that martial ardour which combats and even dangers are apt to inspire.

The king of Persia who then reigned, had a personal interest, as well as his predecessor, in imposing these terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the yoke, and given the empire just cause of inquietude. Ochus had resolved to go in person to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its success. The famous retreat of the ten-thousand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Persia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a small body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Persians, numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the intestine divisions

of Greece would render the cities incapable of supplying the number of soldiers he had occasion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him, Ionia especially, and the neighbouring provinces. Now, the most certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourse in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprises.[e]

When Ochus had taken all his measures, and made the necessary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phœnicia, where he found an army of three hundred thousand foot and thirty thousand horse, and put himself at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of so great an army staggered him, and he sent secretly to Ochus to make him offers not only of surrendering Sidon to him, but to serve him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very useful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the proposal, upon which he engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the same treason, and they in concert surrendered the place to Ochus.

The Sidonians had set fire to their ships upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the necessity of making a good defence, by removing all other hope of security. When they saw themselves betrayed, that the enemy were masters of the city, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in despair they shut themselves up in their houses, and set them on fire. Forty thousand men, without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The fate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, seeing himself master of Sidon, and having no farther

[e] D d. l. xvi. p. 441—443.

occasion for him, caused him to be put to death; a just reward of his treason, and an evident proof that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immensely rich. The fire having melted the gold and silver, Ochus sold the cinders for a considerable sum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city spread so great terror over the rest of Phœnicia, that it submitted, and obtained conditions reasonable enough from the king. Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, because he was unwilling to lose the time there which he had so much occasion for in the execution of his projects against Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter that country, he was joined by a body of ten thousand Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops from Greece. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians had excused themselves from furnishing him at that time; as it was impossible for them to do it, however desirous they might be, as they said, to maintain a good correspondence with the king. The Thebans sent him a thousand men under the command of Lachares; the Argives three thousand under Nicostratus. The rest came from the cities of Asia. All these troops joined him immediately after the taking of Sidon.

[f] The Jews must have had some share in this war of the Phœnicians against Persia. For Sidon was no sooner taken, than Ochus entered Judæa, and besieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Besides which, it appears that he carried a great number of Jewish captives into Egypt, and sent many others into Hyrcania, where he settled them along the coast of the Caspian sea.

[g] Ochus also put an end to the war with Cyprus at the same time. That of Egypt so entirely engrossed his attention, that in order to have nothing

[f] Solin. c. xxxv. Euseb. in Chron. &c.
[g] Diod. l. xvi. p. 443.

to divert him from it, he was satisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who submitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little states. Evagoras demanded to be reinstated in the kingdom of Salamis. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the most flagrant acts of injustice during his reign, and that he had not been unjustly dethroned. Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamis, and the king gave Evagoras a government in another quarter. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamis, and was seized, and put to death. How surprising a difference between Nicocles and his son Evagoras!

[h] After the reduction of the isle of Cyprus and the province of Phœnicia, Ochus advanced at length towards Egypt.

Upon his arrival, he encamped before Pelusium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian with equal authority. The first was under Lachares the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and Ionia. The second was given to Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazanes one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of Ochus's eunuchs, at the head of it. Each detachment had its peculiar orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp which he had made choice of at first, to wait the event, and to be ready to support those troops in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might gain.

Nectanebus had long expected this invasion, the preparations for which had made so much noise. He had a hundred thousand men on foot, twenty thousand of whom were Greeks, twenty thousand Libyans, and the rest Egyptian troops. Part of them he disposed in the places upon the frontiers,

[h] Diod. p. 444—450.

and posted himself with the rest in the passes, to dispute the enemy's entrance into Egypt.

Ochus's first detachment was sent against Pelusium, where there was a garrison of five thousand Greeks. Lachares besieged the place. That under Nicostratus, going on board a squadron of fourscore ships of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and sailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themselves well in a camp which was very advantageously situated. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the isle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action ensued, in which Clinias with five thousand of his troops were killed, and the rest entirely broken and dispersed.

This action decided the success of the war. Nectanebus, apprehending that Nicostratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the haste he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the last importance to secure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Pelusium were apprised of this precipitate retreat, they believed all was lost, and capitulated with Lachares, upon condition of being sent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without suffering any injury in their persons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having caused a report to be spread throughout his camp, that Ochus had given orders that all those who would submit should be treated with favour, and that such as made resistance should be destroyed, as the Sidonians had been; he let all his prisoners escape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Those poor people reported in their towns and villages what,

they had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus seemed to confirm it; and the terror was so great, that the garrisons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, strove which should be the foremost in making their submission.

Nectanebus, having lost all hope of being able to defend himself, escaped with his treasures and most valuable effects into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, since whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prediction of Ezekiel.[i] A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350.

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, dismantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with spoils, and especially with gold and silver, of which he carried away immense sums. He left the government of it to Pherendates, a Persian of the first quality.

[k] Here Manetho finishes his commentaries, or history of Egypt. He was a priest of Heliopolis in that country, and had written the history of its different dynasties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His work is often cited by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and several others. This historian lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, to whom he dedicates his work, of which * Syncellus has preserved us the abridgment.

Nectanebus lost the crown by his too good opinion of himself. He had been placed upon the throne by Agesilaus, and afterwards supported in it by the valour and prudence of Diophantes the Athenian and Lamius the Lacedæmonian, who, whilst they had the command of his troops and

[i] Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.

[k] Syncel. p. 256. Voss. de Hist. Græc. l. i. c. 14.

* George, a monk of Constantinople, so called from his being Syncellus, or vicar to the patriarch Tarasus, towards the end of the ninth century.

the direction of the war, had rendered his armies victorious over the Persians in all the enterprises they had formed against him. It is a pity we have no detailed account of them, and that Diodorus is silent upon this head. That prince, vain from so many successes, imagined, in consequence, that he was become sufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs by himself, and dismissed those persons to whom he was indebted for all those advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to discover that the rank does not confer the qualifications of a king.

A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349. Ochus rewarded very liberally the service which Mentor the Rhodian had rendered him in the reduction of Phœnicia and the conquest of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he dismissed the other Greeks laden with presents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole success of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a present of a hundred * talents in money, besides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coast of Asia, with the direction of the war against some provinces which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generalissimo of all his armies on that side.

Mentor made use of his interest to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabasus, who had married their sister. Both of them had been in arms against Ochus. We have already related the revolt of Artabasus, and the victories he had obtained over the king's troops. He was, however, overpowered at last, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his banishment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his successors signal services; especially Memnon, who was one of the most valiant men of his time, and of the greatest

* A hundred thousand crowns.

skill in the art of war. Neither did Mentor belie the high opinion entertained of him, nor deceive the king in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarce taken possession of his government, when he re-established every where the king's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience; some he brought over by his address and stratagems, and others by force of arms. In a word, he knew so well how to improve his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and reinstated the king's affairs in all those provinces.

In the first year of the 108th Olympiad, died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348.

SECT. V. *Death of Ochus. Arses succeeds him, and is succeeded by Darius Codomanus.*

[1] OCHUS, after the conquest of Egypt, and the reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himself to pleasure and luxurious ease during the rest of his life, and left the care of affairs entirely to his ministers. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas, and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them; so that the first had all the provinces of the upper, and the latter all those of the lower Asia under him.

After having reigned twenty-three years, Ochus died of poison given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his master conquered it, he flattered himself that it would be in his power to soften the destiny of the one, and protect the other from insult. But he could not restrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thousand things in regard to A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338.

[1] Diod. l. xvi. p. 490.

both, which the eunuch saw with extreme sorrow, and always violently resented in his heart.

Ochus, not contented with having dismantled the cities and pillaged the houses and temples, as has been said, had besides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were deposited and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians; and in derision[m] of their worship, he had caused the god Apis to be killed, that is, the sacred bull which they adored under that name. What gave occasion for this last action was,[n] that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities, had given him the insulting surname of the stupid animal whom they found he resembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus said that he would make them sensible that he was not an ass but a lion, and that the ass, whom they despised so much, should eat their ox. Accordingly, he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and sacrificed to an ass. After which he made his cooks dress and serve him up to the officers of his household. This piece of wit incensed Bagoas. As for the archives, he redeemed them afterwards, and sent them back to the places where it was the custom to keep them: but the affront which had been done to his religion was irreparable; and that, it is believed, was the real occasion of his master's death.

[o] His revenge did not stop there: he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's; and to revenge his having made the officers of the household eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces: and as for his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable that some new cause had awakened in the heart of this monster his ancient resentment; without which it is not to be

[m] Ælian, l. iv. c. 8. [n] Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 363.
[o] Ælian. l. vi. c. 8.

conceived that he could carry his barbarity so far towards his master and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whose hands all power was at that time, placed Arses upon the throne, the youngest of all the late king's sons, and put the rest to death, in order to possess with better security, and without a rival, the authority he had usurped. He gave Arses only the name of king, whilst he reserved to himself the whole power of the sovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to discover his wickedness, and was taking measures to punish it, he prevented him by having him assassinated, and destroyed his whole family with him. Arses had reigned about two years.

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomanus. Of him much will be said hereafter. A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

We see here clearly the sad effect of the pernicious policy of the kings of Persia, who, to ease themselves of the weight of public business, abandoned their whole authority to an eunuch. Bagoas might have more address and understanding than the rest, and thereby merit some distinction. It is the duty of a wise prince to distinguish merit; but it is equally his duty to continue always the entire master, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince like Ochus, that had made the greatest crimes serve as steps for ascending the throne, and who had supported himself in it by the same measures, deserved to have such a minister as Bagoas, who vied with his master in perfidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their first effects. Had he desired to have nothing to fear from him, he should not have been so imprudent as to render him formidable, by giving him an unlimited power.

SECT. VI. *Abridgment of the life of Demosthenes, till the time of his appearance with honour and applause in the public assemblies against Philip of Macedon.*

As Demosthenes will perform a conspicuous part in the history of Philip and Alexander, which will be the subject of the ensuing volume, it is necessary to give the reader some previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried his talent of eloquence; which made him more formidable to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater services to his country, than the highest military valour could have done.

A. M. 3623. Ant. J. C. 381. [p] That orator, born * two years after Philip, and two hundred and fourscore before Cicero, was not the son of a dirty smoky blacksmith, as † Juvenal would seem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who made considerable profit by forges. Not that the meanest extraction could derogate in the least from the reputation of Demosthenes: his works are a higher title of nobility than the most splendid the world affords. [q] Demosthenes tells us himself, that his father employed thirty slaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns; two excepted, who were without doubt the most expert in the business, and directed the work, and those were each of them worth a hundred crowns. It is well known that part of the wealth of the ancients consisted in slaves. Those forges, after all charges were paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, fifteen hundred livres. To this first manufactory, appropri-

[p] Plut. in Demost. p. 847—849.

[q] In Orat. i. cont. Aphob. p. 896.

* The fourth year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad.

† *Quem pater ardentis massæ fuligine lippus,*
A carbone et forcipibus, gladiosque parante
Incude, et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.
JUV. Sat. 10.

ated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ, or a hundred livres.[r]

Demosthenes's father died possessed of an estate of fourteen talents.[s] His son at that time was only seven years of age. He had the misfortune to fall into the hands of sordid and avaricious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortune. They carried that base spirit so far as to refuse their pupil's masters the stipend due to them: so that he was not educated with the care which so excellent a genius as his required; besides which, the weakness of his constitution and the delicacy of his health, in conjunction with the excessive fondness of a mother that doated upon him, prevented his masters from obliging him to apply closely to his studies.

The school of Isocrates,* in which so many great men had been educated, was at that time the most famous at Athens. But whether the avarice of Demosthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a master whose price was very high,[t] or that the soft and placid eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste, at that time he studied under Isæus, whose characteristic was strength and vehemence. He found means, however, to get the principles of rhetoric taught by the former: but † Plato

[r] About 4*l.* 10*s.*
[s] Fourteen thousand crowns.
[t] About 22*l.* 10*s.*

* *Isocrates—cujus è ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt.* De Orat. n. 94.

† *Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam, Demosthenes dicitur: idque apparet ex genere et granditate sermonis.* Cic. in Brut. n. 121.

Illud jusjurandum, per cæsos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores Reip. satis manifestò docet, præceptorem ejus Platonem fuisse. Quint. l. xii. c. 10.

in reality contributed the most to form Demosthenes: he read his works with great application, and even received lessons from him; and it is easy to distinguish, in the writings of the disciple, the noble and sublime air of the master.

[u] But he soon quitted the schools of Isæus and Plato for another; I mean, to frequent the bar; of which this was the occasion. The orator Callistratus was appointed to plead in a full assembly the cause of the city Oropus, situated between Bœotia and Attica. Chabrias having disposed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great distress, they hastened thither, and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans, forgetting so great a service, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. [x] Chabrias was suspected, and charged with treason upon this occasion. Callistratus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause, excited curiosity, and made a great noise in the city. Demosthenes, who was then sixteen years of age, earnestly entreated his masters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be present at so famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention; and having had extraordinary success, was attended home by a crowd of illustrious citizens, who seemed to vie with each other in praising and admiring him. The young man was extremely affected with the honours which he saw paid to the orator, and still more with the supreme influence of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it exercises a kind of absolute power. He was himself sensible of its effects; and not being able to resist its charms, he gave himself wholly up to it, from thenceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures, and as long as Callistratus continued

A. M. 3639. Ant. J. C. 365.

[u] Aul. Gel. l. iii. c. 13. [x] Demost. in Midi. p. 613.

at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill fortune. He had a weak voice, an impediment in his speech, and a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to stop in the midst of them to take breath. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience; from whence he retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himself incapable. One of his auditors, who, through all these imperfections, had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured, therefore, to appear a second time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head, and in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of those times, who was his friend, met him; and having learnt from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, he assured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the case was not so desperate as he imagined. He desired him only to repeat some of Sophocles' or Euripides's verses to him, which he accordingly did. Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such graces by the tone, gesture, and spirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronunciation, of

which his friend had made him understand the value, seem almost incredible, and prove, that an industrious perseverance can surmount all things. [y] He stammered to such a degree, that he could not pronounce some letters; amongst others, that with which the name of the art * he studied begins; and he was so short-breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He at length overcame these obstacles by putting small pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing several verses in that manner without interruption; and that even when walking, and going up steep and difficult places, so that, at last, no letter made him hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods. [z] He went also to the sea-side, and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of public assemblies.

[a] Demosthenes took no less care of his action than of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in his house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in public. To correct a fault which he had contracted by an ill habit, of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or rostrum, over which hung a halbert, in such a manner that, if in the heat of action that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.

His pains were well bestowed; for it was by this means that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it is capable; whence, it is plain, he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times, which quality he thought most necessary in an ora-

[y] Cic. l. i. de Orat. n. 260, 261. [z] Quintil. l. x. c. iii.
[a] Id. l. xi. c. 3.
* Rhetoric.

tor, he gave no other answer than *Pronunciation;* insinuating, by making that reply* three times successively, that qualification to be the only one, of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other defects; and that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it the most excellent could not hope for the least success. He must have had a very high opinion of it, since, in order to attain a perfection in it, and to receive the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then in being, he devoted so considerable a sum as ten thousand drachmas,[b] though he was not very rich.

His application to study was no less surprising. To be the more removed from noise, and less subject to distraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he sometimes shut himself up for whole months, shaving on purpose half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a small lamp, he composed the admirable orations which were said, by those who envied him, to smell of the oil; to imply that they were too elaborate. "It is plain," replied he, "yours did not cost you so much trouble." † He rose very early in the morning, and used to say, that he was sorry when any workman was at his business before him. [c] We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire perfection of every kind, from the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history

[b] About 240*l.* sterling. [c] Lucian. advers. Indoct. p. 639.

* *Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hâc summus orator esse nullo numero nullo potest: mediocris, hâc instructus, summos sæpe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cùm rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; hùic secundas, huic tertias.* Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 213.

† *Cui non sunt auditæ Demosthenîs vigiliæ? qui dolore se aiebat, si quando opificum antelucanâ victus esset industriâ.* Tusc. Quæst. l. iv. n. 44.

eight times with his own hand, in order to render the style of that great man familiar to him.

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in several private causes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal, to treat there upon the public affairs; with what success we shall see hereafter. Cicero* tells us that his success was so great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demosthenes speak: and he adds, that merit, so great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine in this place into the character of his eloquence;[d] I have enlarged sufficiently upon that elsewhere; I only consider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip, and upon this point he is certainly an evidence of unquestionable authority,[e] the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did him more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athenians. His harangues, he said, were like machines of war, and batteries raised at a distance against him; by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprises, without its being possible to prevent their effect. "For I myself," says Philip of him, "had I been present, and heard that "vehement orator declaim, I should have been the "first to conclude that it was indispensably neces- "sary to declare war against me." No city seemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it: but he confessed, that, to his sorrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him inaccessible to his presents. After the battle of Chærónea, Philip, though victor, was struck with extreme dread at the prospect of the great danger to which that orator, by the powerful league he had

[d] Art of studying the Belles Lettres, Vol. II.

[e] Lucian. in Encom. Demosth. p. 940, 941.

* *Ne illud quidem intelligunt, non modò ita memoriæ proditum esse, sed ita necesse fuisse, cùm Demosthenes dicturus esset, ut concursus, audiendi causâ, ex totâ Græciâ fierent.* In Brut. n. 239.

been the sole cause of forming against him, had exposed both himself and his kingdom.

[f] Antipater spoke of him in similar terms. "I "value not," said he, "the Piræeus, the galleys, "and armies of the Athenians. For what have we "to fear from a people continually employed in "games, feasts, and Bacchanalian rites? Demo- "sthenes alone gives me pain. Without him, the "Athenians are in no respect different from the "meanest people of Greece. He alone excites and "animates them. It is he that rouses them from "their lethargy and stupefaction, and puts arms "and oars into their hands almost against their will. "Incessantly representing to them the famous bat- "tles of Marathon and Salamis, he transforms them "into new men by the ardour of his discourses, "and inspires them with incredible valour and "boldness. Nothing escapes his penetrating eyes "nor his consummate prudence. He foresees all "our designs, he countermines all our projects, and "disconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens "entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his ad- "vice, we should be irremediably undone. No- "thing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for "his country. All the gold of Philip finds no "more access to him, than that of Persia did for- "merly to Aristides."

He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself in making good his defence against Æschines, his accuser and declared enemy. "Whilst all the orators have suffered themselves to "be corrupted by the presents of Philip and Alex- "ander, it is well known," says he, "that neither de- "licate conjunctures, nor engaging expressions, nor "magnificent promises, nor hope, nor fear, nor fa- "vour, nor any thing in the world, have ever been "able to induce me to relax in any point which I "thought favourable either to the rights or interest

[f] Lucian. in Encom. Demosth. p. 934—936.

" of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most; he, in all the counsels he had given, had solely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible by the Macedonian gold. The sequel will show whether he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal, or rather the statesman who is going to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the great enterprises of Athens against Philip of Macedon.

SECT. VII. *Digression upon the manner of fitting out fleets by the Athenians, and the exemptions and other marks of honour granted by that city to such as had rendered it great services.*

THE subject of this digression ought properly to have had place in that part of this volume where I have treated of the maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time I had not in my thoughts those orations of Demosthenes which speak of them. It is a deviation from the chain of the history, which the reader may easily pass over, if he thinks fit.

The word *Trierarchs*[g] signifies no more in itself than *commanders of galleys*. But those citizens were also called *Trierarchs* who were appointed to fit out the galleys in time of war, and to furnish them with all things necessary, or at least with part of them.

They were chosen out of the richest of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes even ten Trierarchs were appointed to equip one vessel.

[h] At length the number of Trierarchs in general

[g] Τριηραρχοι. [h] Ulpian. in Olynth. ii. p. 33.

was fixed at twelve hundred, in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. A hundred and twenty of the richest citizens of each tribe were nominated to furnish the expences of these armaments; and thus each tribe furnishing six score, the number of the Trierarchs amounted to twelve hundred.

Those twelve hundred men were again divided into two parts, of six hundred each; and those six hundred subdivided into two more, each of three hundred. The first three hundred were chosen from amongst such as were richest. Upon pressing occasions they advanced the necessary expences, and were reimbursed by the other three hundred, who paid their proportion as the state of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby those twelve hundred were divided into different companies, each consisting of sixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and radically unjust, as it decreed that this number of sixteen should be chosen by their age, and not their estates. It ordained that all citizens, from twenty-five to forty, should be included in one of these companies, and contribute one sixteenth; so that by this law the poorer citizens were to contribute as much as the most opulent, and often found it impossible to provide for an expence so much above their power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time, or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens lost the most favourable opportunities for action.

[1] Demosthenes, always intent upon the public good, to remedy these inconveniences, proposed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the Trierarchs were to be chosen, not by the number of their years, but the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whose estate amounted to ten

[1] Demosth. in Orat. de Classib.

talents,* was obliged to fit out one galley at his own expence; and if to twenty talents, two; and so on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were necessary to complete that sum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wiser than this law of Demosthenes, which reformed all the abuses of the other. By these means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things necessary; the poor were considerably relieved, and none but the rich displeased with it. For instead of contributing only a sixteenth, as by the first law, they were sometimes obliged by the second to equip a galley by themselves, and sometimes two or more, according to the amount of their estates.

The rich were in consequence very much offended at Demosthenes for this regulation; and it required, without doubt, no small courage in him to disregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himself as many enemies as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himself. "[k]Seeing," says he, speaking to the Athenians, "that your maritime affairs were in a ruinous condition, the rich possessed of an immunity purchased at a very low rate, the citizens of middle or small fortunes overwhelmed with taxes, and the republic itself, in consequence of these inconveniences, never attempting any thing till too late to be of any avail, I had the courage to establish a law, whereby the rich are brought back to their duty, the poor relieved from oppression, and, what was of the highest importance, the republic enabled to make the necessary preparations for war in due time." He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the proposing of this law, or at least to have suspended its execution: but he did not suffer himself to be swayed either by their

[k] Demosth. pro Ctesiph. p. 419.

* Ten thousand crowns.

threats or promises, and continued firm to the public good.

Not having been able to make him change his resolution, they contrived a stratagem to render it ineffectual. For it was without doubt at their instigation that a certain person, named Patroclus, cited Demosthenes before the judges, and prosecuted him juridically as an infringer of the laws of his country. The accuser not having the fifth part of the voices on his side, was according to custom fined five hundred drachmas,* and Demosthenes acquitted of the charge. He himself informs us of these particulars.

I much doubt, whether at Rome, especially in the latter times, the affair would have taken this turn. For we see, that whatever attempts were made by the tribunes of the people, and to whatever extremity the quarrel arose, it never was possible to induce the rich, who were far more powerful and enterprising than those of Athens, to renounce the possession of the lands, which they had usurped in manifest contravention of the institutions of the state. The law of Demosthenes was approved and confirmed by the senate and people.

We find, from what has been said, that the Trierarchs fitted out the galleys and equipped them at their own expence. The state paid the mariners and soldiers, generally at the rate of three *Oboli*, or five pence a day, as has been observed elsewhere. The officers had greater pay.

The Trierarch commanded the vessel, and gave all orders on board. When there were two of them to a ship, each commanded six months.

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their administration, and delivered a state of the vessel's equipage to their successor, or the republic. The successor was obliged to go immediately and fill up the vacant place; and if he failed to be at his post

* 12*l.* 5*s.*

by a time assigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

As the charge of Trierarch was very expensive, those who were nominated to it were admitted to point out some other person richer than themselves, and to demand that he should be put into their place; provided they were ready to change estates with such person, and to act as Trierarch after such exchange. This law was instituted by Solon, and was called *the law of exchanges.*

Besides the equipment of galleys, which must have amounted to very great sums, the rich had another burden to support in time of war; that was, the extraordinary taxes and imposts laid on their estates; upon which sometimes the hundredth, sometimes a fiftieth, and even a twelfth, were levied, according to the different necessities of the state.

[1] Nobody at Athens, upon any pretence whatsoever, could be exempted from these two charges, except the *Novemviri*, or nine Archons, who were not obliged to fit out galleys. So that we see clearly, that without ships or money, the republic was not in a condition, either to support wars, or defend itself.

There were other immunities and exemptions, which were granted to such as had rendered great services to the republic, and sometimes even to all their descendants: such as maintaining the public places for the exercises with all things necessary for such as frequented them; instituting a public feast for one of the ten tribes; and defraying the expences of games and shows; all which amounted to great sums.

These immunities, as has already been said, were marks of honour and rewards for services rendered the state; as well as the statues which were erected to great men, the freedom of the city which was

[1] Demosth. advers. Lept. p. 545.

granted to strangers, and the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence. The view of Athens in these honourable distinctions, which were sometimes perpetuated through families, was to express their high sense of gratitude, and to kindle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendants were for ever exempted from all public employments, and enjoyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

[m] As Aristides died without any estate, and left his son Lysimachus no other patrimony but his glory and poverty, the republic gave him a hundred acres of wood, and as much arable land, in Eubœa, besides a hundred minæ* at one payment, and four drachmas, or forty pence, a day.

[n] Athens, in the services which were done it, regarded more the good-will than the action itself. A certain person of Cyrene, named Epicerdus, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he saw ready to expire for want of food, distributed a hundred minæ amongst them, that is, about two hundred and forty pounds. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after, in the war against the thirty tyrants, the same Epicerdus gave the city a talent.† These were but small matters on either occasion with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were deeply affected with the good-will of a stranger, who without any view of interest, in a time of public cala-

[m] Demosth. in Orat. ad Lep. p. 558. [n] Ibid. p. 757.

* About two hundred and forty pounds.

† A thousand crowns.

mity, exhausted himself in some measure for the relief of those with whom he had no connection, and from whom he had nothing to expect.

[a] The same Athens granted the freedom of their city, and an exemption from customs, to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and to his children, because they imported from the lands of that prince a considerable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, subsisting almost entirely upon what came from foreign parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be outdone in generosity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth that was imposed upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of supplying themselves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a considerable sum. For they brought from thence alone two millions of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almost seventy thousand.

The children of Conon and Chabrias were also granted an immunity from public offices. The names alone of those illustrious generals sufficiently justify that liberality of the Athenian people. A person, however, called Leptines, out of a mistaken zeal for the public good, proposed to abrogate by a new law all the grants of that kind, which had been made from time immemorial, except those which regarded the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact, that for the future the people should not be permitted to grant such privileges.

Demosthenes strongly opposed this law, though with great delicacy towards the person who proposed it; praising his good intentions, and not speaking of him but with esteem; a much more efficacious manner of refuting, than those violent invectives, and that eager and passionate style, which serve

[a] Demosth. in Orat. ad. Lep. p. 545, 546.

only to alienate the minds of the hearers, and to render an orator suspected, who discredits his cause himself, and shows its weak side, by substituting railing in the place of reasons, which are alone capable of convincing.

After having shown that so odious a reform would prove of little or no advantage to the republic, from the inconsiderable number of the exempted persons, he goes on to expose its inconveniences, and sets them in a full light.

" It is first," says he, " doing injury to the me-
" mory of those great men, whose merit the state
" intended to acknowledge and reward by such im-
" munities; it is in some manner calling in question
" the services they have done their country; it is
" throwing a suspicion upon their great actions,
" injurious to, if not destructive of, their glory.
" And were they now alive and present in this
" assembly, which of us all would presume to offer
" them such an affront? Should not the respect we
" owe their memories make us consider them as
" always alive and present?

" But if we are little affected with what concerns
" them, can we be insensible to our own interest?
" Besides that cancelling so ancient a law is to
" condemn the conduct of our ancestors, what
" shame shall we bring upon ourselves, and what an
" injury shall we do our reputation? The glory of
" Athens, and of every well-governed state, is to
" value itself upon its gratitude; to keep its word
" religiously, and to be true to all its engagements.
" A private person that fails in these respects, is
" hated and abhorred; and who is not afraid of
" being reproached with ingratitude? And shall
" the commonwealth, in cancelling a law that has
" received the sanction of public authority, and
" been in a manner consecrated by the usage of
" many ages, be guilty of so scandalous a prevari-
" cation? We prohibit lying in the very markets

" under heavy penalties, and require truth and good " faith to be observed in them; and shall we re- " nounce them ourselves, by the revocation of grants " passed in all their forms, and upon which every " private man has a right to insist?

" To act in such a manner, would be to ex- " tinguish in the hearts of our citizens all emula- " tion for glory, all desire to distinguish themselves " by great exploits, all zeal for the honour and " welfare of their country; which are the great " springs and principles of almost all the actions " of life. And it is to no purpose to object the " example of Sparta and Thebes, which grant no " such exemptions. Do we repent our not resem- " bling them in many things; and is there any wis- " dom in proposing their defects, and not their vir- " tues, for our imitation?"

Demosthenes concludes with demanding the law of exemptions to be retained in all its extent, with this exception, that all persons should be deprived of the benefits of it, but those who had a just title to them; and that a strict enquiry should be made for that purpose.

It is plain that I have only made a very slight extract in this place of an exceeding long discourse, and that I designed to express only the spirit and sense, without confining myself to the method and expressions of it.

There was a meanness in Leptines's desiring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republic, by retrenching the moderate expences that were an honour to it, and in no degree burdensome, whilst there were other abuses of far greater importance to reform.

Such marks of public gratitude perpetuated in a family, perpetuate also in a state an ardent zeal for one's country, and a warm desire to obtain distinction by glorious actions. It is not without pain I find amongst ourselves, that part of the privileges

granted to the family of the Maid of Orleans have been retrenched. [p] Charles VII. had ennobled her, her father, three brothers, and all their descendants, even by the female line. In 1614, at the request of the attorney-general, the article of nobility on the women's side was retrenched.

[p] Mezerai.

BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF PHILIP.

SECT. I. *The birth and infancy of Philip. Beginning of his reign. His first conquests. The birth of Alexander.*

MACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, situated in ancient Thrace: and bounded on the south by the mountains of Thessaly; on the east by Bottia and Pieria; on the west by the Lyncestæ; and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatic sea to the river Strymon. Edessa was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are going to write, was the son of Amyntas II. who is reckoned the sixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about four hundred and thirty years before; that is, *in the Year of the World* 3210, and

Before Christ 794. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.

The kings of Macedon pretended to descend from Hercules by Caranus, and consequently to be Greeks by extraction. Notwithstanding this, Demosthenes often styles them barbarians, especially in his invectives against Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. [a] Alexander, king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, upon pretence of his being a barbarian, from the Olympic games; and was not admitted to share in them, till after having proved his being descended originally from Argos. [b] The above-mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Persian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter that Mardonius was determined to surprise them at day-break, justified his perfidy by his ancient descent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath them to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it suited their interest.

We shall soon see this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the arbiter of Greece; and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Asia.

Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Having the very year after been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again, he had applied to the Olynthians; and in order to engage them the more A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398.

[a] Herod. l. v. c. 22.

[b] Idem, l. vi. c. 44.

firmly in his interest, had given up to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argæus, who was of the blood royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years.

A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. [c] Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the unfortunate situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and impending ruin. [d] It was then that Amyntas, in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them in enabling the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last mentioned people. This close alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.

A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the same year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. This Philip was father of Alexander the Great; for we cannot distinguish him better, than by calling him the father of such a son, as * Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375. [c] Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, *viz.* Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural son named Ptolemy.

[c] Diod. l. xiv. p. 307, 341. [d] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 400.

* Diod. p. 373. Justin. l. vii. c. 4.

[a] *M. Cato sententiam dixit, hujus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim cæteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lumen illud progenuit, ex filio est nominandus.* De Offic. l. iii. n. 66.

Alexander, as eldest son, succeeded his father. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a sharp war against the Illyrians, neighbours to, and perpetual enemies of, Macedonia. Having concluded a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother, an infant, into their hands, by way of hostage, who was soon sent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

[f] The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, who was become eldest by his death; but Pausanias, a prince of the blood-royal, who had been exiled, disputed it with him, and was supported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by seizing some fortresses. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whither the Athenians had sent him with a small fleet; not to besiege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the necessary preparations for besieging it. Eurydice, hearing of his arrival, besought him to pay her a visit, intending to request his assistance against Pausanias. When he was come into the palace, and had seated himself, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compassion, takes her two children, Perdiccas and * Philip, and sets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; and then thus addresses him: "Remember, Iphicrates, that "Amyntas, the father of these unhappy orphans, "had always a love for your country, and adopted "you for his son. This double tie lays you under "a double obligation. The amity which that king "entertained for Athens, requires that you should "acknowledge us publicly for your friends; and "the tenderness which that father had for your "person, claims from you the heart of a brother "towards these children." Iphicrates, moved with

A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374.

[f] Æsch. de Fals. Legat. p. 399, 400.

* Philip was not then less than nine years old.

this sight and discourse, expelled the usurper, and restored the lawful sovereign.

[s] Perdiccas* did not long continue in tranquillity. A new enemy, more formidable than the first, soon invaded his repose. This was Ptolemy, his brother, the natural son of Amyntas, as was before observed. He might possibly be the eldest son, and claim the crown as such. The two brothers referred the decision of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, still more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it necessary to take pledges on both sides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty which they had accepted, among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to † Thebes, where he resided several years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, on yielding up this much-loved son, earnestly besought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going a hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of this circumstance. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the conduct of life; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time

[s] Plut. in Pelop. p. 292.

* Plutarch supposes, that it was with Alexander that Ptolemy disputed the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of Æschines, who, being his contemporary, is more worthy of credit. I have therefore thought proper to substitute Perdiccas instead of Alexander.

† *Thebis triennio obses habitus, prima pueritiæ rudimenta in urbe severitatis antiquæ, et in domo Epaminondæ summi et philosophi et imperatoris, deposuit.* Justin. l. vii. c. 5. Philip lived in Thebes not only three, but nine or ten years.

a great philosopher, that is to say, a wise and virtuous man, and a great commander as well as a great statesman. Philip was very proud of having been his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; and most happy would he have been, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving opportunities, which, however, formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of this illustrious personage. But with regard to his temperance, his justice, his disinterestedness, his sincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and cherishing in their bosom the most dangerous enemy of Greece. [h] After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him resolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he steals away, makes the utmost expedition, and finds the Macedonians in the deepest consternation at having lost their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians; but much more so, at finding they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Peonians infested it with perpetual incursions: the Thracians were determined to place Pausanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretensions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias their general was ordered to support with a strong fleet and a considerable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a man to govern, and had only a child in Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of guardian to the prince;

[h] Diod. l. xvi. p. 407. Justin. l. vii. c. 5.

but very soon the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and, instead of the heir whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required; persuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. [i] Accordingly, Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne, the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people. Accordingly, he provides for and remedies every thing, revives the desponding courage of the Macedonians, and reinstates and disciplines the army. [k] He was inflexibly rigid in the last point, well knowing that the success of his enterprises depended on it. A soldier, who was very thirsty, went out of the ranks to drink; Philip punished him with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, laid them down: him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time that he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterwards became so famous, and was the choicest and the best disciplined body of troops the world had ever seen, and might dispute the pre-eminence in those respects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamis. It is said that he drew up the plan, or at least improved it, from the idea suggested by [l] Homer. That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the soldiers of which, by joining their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the sacred battalion of the Thebans. He treated those chosen foot-soldiers with peculiar distinction, honoured them with the

[i] Diod. l. xvi. p. 407—413.
[k] Ælian. l. xiv. c. 49.
[l] Iliad. N. v. 130.

title of his * comrades or companions; and by such marks of honour and confidence induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardest fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I shall insert, at the end of this section, a more particular description of the phalanx, and the use made of it in battles. I shall borrow from Polybius this description, the length of which would too much interrupt the series of our history; yet being placed separately, may probably please, especially by the judicious reflections of a man so well skilled in the art of war as that historian.

One of the first things Philip took care of was, the negociating a captious peace with the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill established. He therefore sent ambassadors to Athens, spared neither promises nor protestations of amity, and at last was so happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had proposed to himself.

Immediately after this, he does not seem so much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician profoundly versed in the art of dissimulation; and who, without the assistance of experience, was already sensible, that to know when to lose at a proper season is to gain. [m] He had seized upon Amphipolis, a city situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which consequently stood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much; not to mention that the Athenians, whose friendship it was his interest to preserve, would

[m] Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17.

* Πεζέταιρος signifies, literally, a fellow-foot-soldier.

have been exasperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other side, he was determined not to give up to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the resolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themselves as a republic, and in this manner to set them at variance with their ancient masters. At the same time he disarmed the Peonians by dint of promises and presents; resolving to attack them, after he had disunited his enemies, and weakened them by that disunion.

This address and subtlety established him more firmly on the throne, and he soon found himself without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pausanias, he marches against Argæus, comes up with him in the road from Ægæ to Methone, defeats him, kills a great number of his soldiers, and takes a multitude prisoners; attacks the Peonians, and subjects them to his power. He afterwards turns his arms against the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and obliges them to restore to him all the places possessed by them in Macedonia.

A.M. 3646. Ant. J.C. 358. Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greatest generosity towards the inhabitants of Eubœa. That island, which is separated from Bœotia by the Euripus, was so called from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now called Negropont. [n] It had been subject to the Athenians, who had settled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates that in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Eubœans dismayed the Athenians very much, because they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Eubœa became a prey to factions; and at the time of which we are now speaking, one

[n] Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 4. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 613. Demosth. pro Ctesiph. p. 469. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 441.

of these factions implored the assistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and easily made the faction they espoused triumphant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Eubœans, who had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless, sensibly affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private resentments, they immediately gave them such powerful succour both by sea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being absolute masters of the island, they restored to the inhabitants their cities and liberty, persuaded, says * Æschines, in relating this circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the party offending repose their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having restored Eubœa to its former tranquillity, retired, without desiring any other benefit for all their services, than the glory of having appeased the troubles of that island.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard to other states; and it was this gave rise to the *war of the allies*, of which I have spoken elsewhere.

Hitherto Philip, that is, during the first years of his reign, had been engaged in ridding himself of his competitors for the throne; in pacifying domestic divisions, in repelling the attacks of his foreign enemies, and in rendering them incapable, by his frequent victories, of troubling him in the possession of his kingdom. A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long disputed with each other the empire of Greece, had weakened themselves by their reciprocal divisions.

* Οὐχ ἡγεμένοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πιστευθῆναι.

This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of raising herself to the supreme power: but Thebes having weakened itself by the wars in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his turn to the sovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, he resolves how he may best extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken those whom he is not able to conquer at present; how he may introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, take a part in its intestine feuds, make himself its arbiter, join with one side to destroy the other; in order to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he spares neither artifices, open force, presents, nor promises. He employs for this purpose negociations, treaties, and alliances, and each of them singly in such a manner as he judges most conducive to the success of his design; expediency solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under this second character, in all the steps he takes thenceforth, till he assumes a third and last character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Persia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by subverting an empire which before had attempted to subject it, and which had always continued its irreconcileable enemy, either by open invasions or secret intrigues.

We have seen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had seized upon Amphipolis, because it was well situated for his views; but that to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians, he resumed his former design of seizing Amphipolis [o] The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a speedy siege, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, offering

[o] Demosth. Olynth. i. p. 2.

to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beseeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republic rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. [p] However, this monarch was not so delicate in this point; for he besieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the strongest barriers of his kingdom. Demosthenes, in his Orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occasion, by representing to them, that had they acted at the time with the expedition they ought, they would have saved a confederate city, and spared themselves a multitude of misfortunes. A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

[q] Philip had promised the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promise had made them supine and inactive; but he did not value himself upon keeping his word, and sincerity was not the virtue he professed. So far from surrendering this city, he also possessed himself of * Pydna and of † Potidæa. The Athenians kept a garrison in the latter; these he dismissed without doing them the least injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them in his interest.

[r] From hence he proceeded to seize Crenides, which the Thasians had built two years before, and which he afterwards called Philippi, from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous for the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thousand talents, that is, about a hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling; a

[p] Diod. p. 412. [q] Ibid. [r] Id. p. 413.

* Pydna, a city of Macedon, situated on the gulf anciently called Sinus Thermaicus, and now Golfo di Salonichi.

† Potidæa, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but sixty stadia, or three leagues, from Olynthus.

prodigious sum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip first caused the golden coin bearing his name to be stamped there, which outlived his * monarchy. Superiority of finances is of the utmost advantage to a state; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this fund he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.

[s] Demosthenes says, that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, gold and silver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms. But Philip thought, spoke, and acted, in a quite different manner. [t] It is said, that having one day consulted the oracle of Delphi, he received the following answer:

Ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχῃ, καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις.

Make coin thy weapons, and thou'lt conquer all.

The advice of the priestess became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He boasted, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate, till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and that he did not think any fortress impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver could find entrance. It has been said, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold,

[s] Philip. iii. p. 92. [t] Suidas.

* *Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille*
Chœrilus, incultis qui versibus et malè natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.
Horat. l. ii. Ep. ad August.

Chœrilus the Pellæan youth approv'd,
Him he rewarded well, and him he lov'd;
His dull, uneven verse, by great good fate,
Got him his favours, and a fair estate. Creech's Hor.

Hic sunt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Philippi. Plaut. in Pœn.

which subdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them.* He had pensioners in all the commonwealths of Greece, and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. And, indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negociation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his soldiers could share in the honour of the latter.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus. The latter was son of Alcetas, king of the Molossi or Epirus. Olympias bare him Alexander, surnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the first year of the 106th Olympiad. [u] Philip, who at that time was absent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable †pieces of news brought him at one and the same time; —that he had carried the prize in the Olympic games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a son. [x] This prince, terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, "Great Jupiter! in return for "so many blessings, send me as soon as possible "some slight misfortune." A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

[y] We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince,

[u] Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Justin. l. xii. c. 16.
[x] Plut. in Apophth. p. 187. [y] Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.

* *Callidus emptor Olynthi.* Juv. Sat. xii. 47.
Philippus majore ex parte mercator Græciæ, quàm victor. Val. Max. lib. vii. c. 2.

——— *Diffidit hostium*
Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus. Horat. lib. iii. Od. 16.

When engines and when arts do fail,
The golden wedge can cleave the wall;
Gold Philip's rival kings o'erthrew. Creech's Hor.

† Plutarch supposes that this news was brought him immediately after the taking of Potidæa; but this city had been taken two years before.

by the letter which he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle, to acquaint him even then that he had made choice of him for his son's preceptor. "I "am to inform you," said he, "that I have a son "born. I return thanks to the gods, not so much "for having given him to me, as for having given "him me while Aristotle is living. I may justly "promise myself, that you will make him a suc- "cessor worthy of us both, and a king worthy of "Macedonia." What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make his own reflections upon it; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good master, and the extraordinary care they should take to find such an one; *for every son is an Alexander to his father. It appears that Philip † put his son very early under Aristotle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the foundation first laid; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner in which they ought to be inculcated.

A description of the Macedonian phalanx.

[y] The Macedonian ‡ phalanx was a body of infantry, consisting of sixteen thousand heavy-armed

[y] Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764—767. Id. l. xii. p. 664. Ælian. de instruend. acieb.

* *Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, impositum gremio, dignum tantâ curâ infantem: (quanquam suus cuique dignus est).* Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

† *An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia à perfectissimo quoque optimè tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset?* Quintil. ibid.

‡ *Decem et sex millia peditum more Macedonum armati fuere, qui Phalangitæ appellabantur. Hæc media acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes divisa.* Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40.

troops, who were always placed in the centre of the battle. Besides a sword, they were armed with a shield, and a pike or spear, called by the Greeks ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ (*sarissa*). This pike was fourteen cubits long, that is, twenty-one feet, for the cubit consists of a foot and a half.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten battalions, each of which was composed of sixteen hundred men, drawn up a hundred in front, and sixteen in depth. Sometimes the file of sixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided, according as occasion required; so that the phalanx was sometimes but eight, and at other times thirty-two, deep: but its usual and regular depth was of sixteen.

The space between each soldier upon a march was six feet, or, which is the same, four cubits; and the ranks were also about six feet asunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three feet distance between each soldier, and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who composed it drew still closer, each soldier occupying only the space of a foot and a half.

This evidently shows the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole to consist of sixteen thousand men, at sixteen deep, and consequently always a thousand men in front. This space in the first case was six thousand feet, or one thousand fathoms, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the second case it was but half so much, and took up five furlongs, or five hundred fathoms.* And, in the third case, it was again diminished another half, and extended to the distance of only two furlongs and a half, or two hundred and fifty fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it marched to attack the enemy.

* Five stadia.

Each soldier then took up three feet in breadth, and as many in depth. We observed above, that their pikes were fourteen cubits long. The space between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four; and consequently the pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the soldier who carried it. This being supposed, the pikes of the soldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and so of the rest, projected two cubits beyond the first rank; the pikes of the fourths four, those of the thirds six, those of the seconds eight cubits; in fine, the pikes of the soldiers who formed the first rank advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will easily conceive, that when the soldiers who composed the phalanx, this great and unwieldy machine, every part of which bristled with pikes, as we have seen, moved all at once, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they must charge with great force. The soldiers who were behind the fifth rank held their pikes raised, but inclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of roof, which (not to mention their shields) secured them from the darts discharged at a distance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The soldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great assistance in battle to those in the front of them. For by supporting them behind with their utmost strength, and pressing upon their backs, they increased in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of the onset; they gave their comrades such firmness and stability as rendered them immoveable in attacks, and at the same time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; so that they were under the necessity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long

as the soldiers of the phalanx preserved their disposition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the close order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy either to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonstrates to us in a plain and sensible manner. The Roman soldiers, (for it is those whom he compares to the Greeks in the place in question,) says he, take up, in fight, three feet each. And as they must necessarily move about very much, either to shift their bucklers to the right and left in defending themselves, or to thrust with the point, or to strike with the edge of their swords, we must be obliged to allow the distance of three feet between every soldier. Thus every Roman soldier takes up six feet, that is, twice as much space as one of the * phalanx, and consequently opposes singly two soldiers of the first rank; and for the same reason is obliged to make head against ten pikes, as we have before observed. Now it is impossible for a single soldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.

[z] This Livy shows evidently in a few words, where he describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the Macedonians at the siege of a city. † The consul, says he, made his cohorts to advance, in order, if possible, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the

[z] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 17.

* It was before said, that each soldier of the phalanx took up only three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half so much when he waited his coming up. In this last case, each Roman soldier was obliged to make head against twenty pikes.

† *Cohortes invicem sub signis, quæ cuneum Macedonum, (Phalangem ipsi vocant,) si possent, vi perrumperent, emittebat——Ubi conferti hastas ingentis longitudinis præ se Macedones objecissent, velut in constructam densitate clypeorum testudinem, Romani pilis nequicquam emissis, cùm strinxissent gladios; neque congredi propiùs neque præcidere hastas poterant; et, si quam incidissent aut præfregissent, hastile fragmento ipso acuto, inter spicula integrarum hastarum, velut vallum explebat.*

Romans having discharged ineffectually their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields (pressed very close together) covered like a roof and a tortoise; the Romans, I say, drew their swords. But it was not possible for them either to come to a close engagement, or to cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike served as a point; so that this hedge of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still existed.

[a] Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perseus, the last king of Macedon, this rampart of brass and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and astonishment. He did not remember, he said, ever to have seen any thing so formidable as this phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful spectacle made so strong an impression upon him, as almost to induce him to despair of the victory.

From what has been said above, it follows that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible: nevertheless we find from history, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and subdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replies Polybius, so long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being so, it required a flat even spot of ground of large extent, without either tree, bush, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill, or river. Now we seldom find a spot of ground of this description, of fifteen, twenty, or more furlongs* in extent; for so large a space is necessary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

But let us suppose (it is Polybius who still speaks) that a tract of ground, exactly such as could be wished, were found; yet of what use could a body of troops drawn up in the form a phalanx be, should the enemy, instead of advancing forward and offer-

[a] Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

* Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.

ing battle, send out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? In case the enemy should come to a battle, the general need only command part of his front (the centre for instance) designedly to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of pursuing them. In this case, it is manifest the phalanx would be broken, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to throw themselves, in order to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the same time that those soldiers who are pursuing the enemy, may be attacked in the same manner.

This reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the same time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which the ancients fought; which certainly ought to have its place in history, as it is an essential part of it.

Hence appears, as [b] Mr. Bossuet observes after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian [*] phalanx formed of one large body, very thick on all sides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army divided into small bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and consequently more calculated for movements of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property (these are Polybius's words), that is to say, its solidity and thickness, because it requires peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, made purposely for it; and that for want of such spots, it encumbers, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that if it is once broken, the soldiers who compose it can never rally again.

[b] Discourse on Universal History.

[*] *Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans; sed illa phalanx immobilis, et unius generis: Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans; facilis partienti quacumque opus esset, facilis jungenti.* Tit. Liv. l. ix. n. 19.

Erant pleraque sylvestria circà, incommoda phalangi, maximè Macedonum, quæ, nisi ubi prælongis hastis velut vallum ante clypeos objecit, (quod ut fiat, libero campo opus est,) nullius admodum usûs est. Id. l. xxxi. n. 39.

Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and situations, and suits itself to them. It is united or separated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the least difficulty. It can very easily form detachments, rally, and go through every kind of evolution, either in the whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more activity and strength than the phalanx.

[c] This enabled Paulus* Æmilius to gain his celebrated victory over Perseus. He first had attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians (keeping very close together), holding their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broken or forced in any manner, and so made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of the ground and the great extent of the front of the battle not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of shields and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this, he attacked them at these openings, not as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detatched bodies, and in different parts at one and the same time. By this means the phalanx was broken in an instant, and its whole force, which consisted merely in its union and the

[c] Plutarch. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. xliv. n. 41.

* *Secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior causa victoriæ fuit, quàm quòd multa passim prælia erant, quæ fluctuantem turbârunt primò, deinde dejecerunt phalangem; cujus confertæ, et intentis horrentis hastis, intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusâ strue implicantur: si verò ab latere, aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultûs increpuit, ruinæ modo turbantur. Sicut tum adversùs catervatim irruentes Romanos, et interruptâ multifariàm acie, obviàm ire cogebantur: et Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, instruabant ordines suos. Qui si universâ acie in frontem adversùs instructam phalangem concurrissent—induissent se hastis, nec confertam aciem sustinuissent.* Tit. Liv.

impression it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

[d] The same Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, describes in few words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a furlong, or a hundred fathoms, allowing the distance of one fathom, or six feet, for each horseman; a space which he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or eight thousand horse, occupied ten times as much ground; that is, ten furlongs, or a thousand fathoms, which make about half a league.

From what has been said, the reader may judge how much ground an army took up, by considering the number of infantry and cavalry of which it consisted.

SECT. II. *The Sacred War. Sequel of the History of Philip. He endeavours in vain to possess himself of the Pass of Thermopylæ.*

[e] DISCORD, which perpetually fomented among the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. That people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphi, ploughed up certain lands that were consecrated to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them, as guilty of sacrilege; some from a spirit of sincerity, and others to cover their private revenge with the pious pretext of zeal for religion. The war that broke out on this occasion was called *the sacred war*, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were sum-

A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355.

[d] Lib. xii. p. 668. [e] Diod. l. xvi. p. 425—433.

moned to appear before the Amphictyons, or states-general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocæans were declared sacrilegious, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man and of great authority, having proved by some verses in [f] Homer, that the sovereignty of the temple of Delphi belonged anciently to the Phocæans, inflames them against this decree, induces them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately proceeds to Sparta, to engage the Lacedæmonians in his interest. They were very much disgusted at a sentence which the Amphictyons had pronounced against them, at the solicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been also condemned to pay a fine, for having seized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. This monarch, however, did not yet dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocæans, but promised to assist him with money, and to furnish him secretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, on his return home, raises soldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphi, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak resistance. The Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphi, took arms against him, but were defeated in several rencounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprise with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphictyons against the Phocæans, publishes all over the country that he has no design to seize the riches of the temple, and that his sole view is to restore to the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a

[f] Iliad. l. ii. v. 516.

sanction from the god who presided at Delphi, and to receive such an answer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The priestess at first refused to co-operate on this occasion; but, being terrified by his menaces, she answered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper; a circumstance which he took care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

A. M. 3650. Ant. J. C. 354.

The affair was now become serious. The Amphictyons meeting a second time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Bœotians, the Locrians, Thessalians, and several other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed than in the deity's defence, (for he gave this specious name to his sacrilegious attempt;) and being enabled, by this fresh supply, to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the success for some time seemed equal on both sides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths to which a false zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die as sacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the same by way of reprisal. The latter had at first gained several advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himself for a long time with invincible bravery, which, however, not availing, he threw himself headlong from a rock, in

order to avoid the torments which he had reason to dread if he should fall alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus his brother was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. This new general had soon levied a fresh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also by dint of money brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to act with remissness, by which he gained great advantages.

In this general movement of the Greeks, who had taken up arms in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans, Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater ease and advantage.

A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. [g] Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs, whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of it, and rased it. [h] It was before this city that he lost one of his eyes, by a very singular accident. Astet of Amphipolis had offered his service to Philip, as so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer, "Well, I will take

[g] Diod. p. 434. [h] Suidas in Καραν.

" you into my service when I make war upon star-
" lings;" which answer stung the cross-bowman to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it; and it is no small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. Aster having thrown himself into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written, " To Philip's right " eye," and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in his right eye. Philip sent him back the same arrow, with this inscription, " If Philip takes the city, he will " hang up Aster;" and accordingly he was as good as his word.

[i] A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish. [k] But nevertheless this monarch was so weak, as to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word *Cyclops*, or even the word *eye*, in his presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when, to console her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, she said, " Now, son, every step you take will put " you in mind of your valour."

[l] After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquests, or gain new friends by doing them some important service, marched into Thessaly, which had implored his assistance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now secure, since Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheless, the brothers of his wife Thebé, who, in concert with her, had murdered him; grown weary of having for some time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thes-

[i] Plin. l. vii. c. 37.
[k] Demet. Phaler. de Elocu. c. iii.
[l] Diod. p. 432—435.

salians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers, who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocæans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a second time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were pursued to the sea-shore. Upwards of six thousand men were killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows; and three thousand, who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many sacrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy success of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards so great a share in his victories and those of his son.

Phayllus, who succeeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the same resources as he had done, in the immense riches of the temple, raised a numerous army; and, supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and other allies, whom he paid very largely, went into Bœotia, and invaded the Thebans. For a long time success and defeat were nearly equal on both sides; but at last, Phayllus being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and sacrilegious actions. Phalecus then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room; and Mnaseas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader, treading in the steps of his predecessors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At last the Pho-

cæans opened their eyes, and appointed commissioners to call all those to account who had any concern in the public moneys. Upon this, Phalecus was deposed; and, after an exact enquiry, it was found, that from the beginning of the war there had been taken out of the temple upwards of ten thousand talents; that is, about one million five hundred thousand pounds.

Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This is his first attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. With this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis, in order to punish the sacrilegious Phocæans, he marches towards Thermopylæ, to possess himself of a pass which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the most fatal consequence to them, hasted to Thermopylæ, and possessed themselves very seasonably of this important pass, which Philip did not dare attempt to force; so that he was obliged to return back into Macedonia. A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

SECT. III. *Demosthenes, upon Philip's attempt on Thermopylæ, harangues the Athenians, and animates them against that prince. Little regard is paid to his advice. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, addresses the Athenians for succour. Demosthenes endeavours by his orations to rouse them from their lethargy. They send but a very weak succour, and Philip at length takes the place.*

As we shall soon see Philip engaged against the Athenians, and as they, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs; it may not be improper, before we enter upon that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age of which we are now speaking, from that of their ancestors, in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whose virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the same men, and had no longer the same maxims nor the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the public good, the same application to the affairs of the state, the same courage in enduring the fatigues of war by sea and land, the same care in managing the revenues, the same willingness to receive salutary advice, the same discernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of the magistrates to whom they intrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, had succeeded a fondness for repose, and an indolence with regard to public affairs; an aversion for military labours, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the public

treasures in games and shows; a love for the flattery which their orators lavished upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring public offices by intrigue and cabal: all the usual forerunners of the approaching ruin of states. Such was the situation of Athens at the time when the king of Macedon began to turn his arms against Greece.

We have seen that Philip, after various conquests, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; because the Athenians, justly alarmed at the impending danger, had stopped him at the pass of Thermopylæ. [m] Demosthenes, taking advantage of so favourable a disposition, mounted the tribunal, in order to set before them a lively image of the impending danger with which they were menaced by the boundless ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the absolute necessity they were under, from hence, to apply the most speedy remedies. Now, as the success of his arms and the rapidity of his progress spread throughout Athens a kind of terror bordering very near upon despair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice, first endeavours to revive their courage, and ascribes their calamities solely to their sloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themselves of their duty, and that in spite of their activity and their utmost efforts, Philip had prevailed over them, they then, indeed, would not have the least resource or hope left. But in this oration, and all those which follow, Demosthenes insists strongly, that the aggrandizement of Philip is wholly owing to the supineness of the Athenians; and that it is this supineness which makes him bold, daring, and swells him with such a spirit of haughtiness as even dares to insult the Athenians.

A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

"See," says Demosthenes to them, speaking of Philip, "to what a height the arrogance of that "man rises, who will not suffer you to choose either "action or repose; but employs menaces, and, as

[m] Demosth. 1 Philip.

"fame says, speaks in the most insolent terms; "and not contented with his first conquests, which "are incapable of satiating his lust of dominion, "engages every day in some new enterprise. Pos- "sibly you wait till necessity reduces you to act. "Can there be a greater to freeborn men than "shame and infamy? Will you then for ever walk "in the public squares with this question in your "mouths, 'What news is there?' Can there be "greater news, than that a Macedonian has van- "quished the Athenians, and made himself the su- "preme arbiter of Greece? 'Philip is dead,' says "one; 'No,' replies another, 'he is only sick.' (His being wounded at Methone had occasioned all these reports.) But whether he be sick or "dead is nothing to the purpose, O Athenians! "for the moment after Heaven had delivered you "from him, (should you still behave as you now "do,) you would raise up another Philip against "yourselves; since the man in question owes his "grandeur infinitely more to your indolence, than "to his own strength."

But Demosthenes, not satisfied with bare remonstrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, proposed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attempts of Philip. In the first place he advises the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty galleys, and to resolve firmly to man them themselves. He requires them to reinforce these with ten galleys lightly armed, which may serve to escort the convoys of the fleet and the transports. With regard to the land forces,—as in his time the general, elected by the most powerful faction, formed the army only of a confused assemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little service,—Demosthenes requires them to levy no more than two thousand chosen troops, five hundred of which shall be Athenians, and the rest raised from among the allies; with two hundred horse, fifty of which shall also be Athenians.

The annual expence of maintaining this little army, with regard only to provisions and other matters independent of their pay, was to amount to little more than ninety* talents, (ninety thousand crowns) viz. forty talents for ten convoy galleys, at the rate of twenty minæ (a thousand livres) per month for each galley; forty talents for the two thousand infantry; and ten drachmas (five livres) per month for each foot-soldier, which five livres per month make a little more than three-pence farthing (French money) *per diem.* Finally, twelve talents for the two hundred horse, at thirty drachmas (fifteen livres) per month for each horseman, which fifteen livres per month make five sols *per diem.* The reason of my relating this so particularly, is to give the reader an idea of the expences of an army in those times. Demosthenes adds, that if any one should imagine that the preparation of provisions is not a considerable step, he is very much mistaken; for he is persuaded, that, provided the forces do not want provisions, the war will furnish them with every thing besides; and that, without doing the least wrong to the Greeks or their allies, they will not fail of sufficient acquisitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be surprised at Demosthenes's requiring so small a body of forces, he gives this reason for it, viz. that at present the situation of the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppose Philip with a force sufficient to make head against him in the field; and that it would be their business to make excursions only. Thus his design was, that this little army should be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, observe, harass, and press the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing such enterprises with ease, as they might think fit to attempt.

* Each talent was worth a thousand crowns.

What the success of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked personally, they, in consequence of the supineness natural to them, were very indifferent with regard to the progress of Philip's arms. The divisions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmon on one side were solely intent on reducing the strength of Thebes their rival; whilst, on the other side, the Thessalians, in order to free themselves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to maintain the superiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themselves in the most absolute manner to Philip; and assisted him, though unintentionally, in making chains for themselves.

Philip, like an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all these dissensions. This king, in order to secure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could not do but at the expence of the Athenians, who, since the defeat of Xerxes, had many colonies (besides several states who were either their allies or tributaries) in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace, in the peninsula of Pallene, was one of these colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas, father of Philip, and had even very much opposed the latter upon his accession to the crown. However, as he was not yet firmly established on his throne, he at first employed dissimulation, and courted the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, some time after, he gave up Potidæa, an important fortress, which he had conquered, in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures in order to besiege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who saw the storm gathering at a distance, had recourse to the Athenians, of whom they requested immediate aid. The affair was debated in an assembly of the people; and as it was of the utmost importance, a great number of orators met in the as-

sembly. Each of them mounted the tribunal in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demosthenes, who was then but four and thirty, did not speak till after his seniors had discussed the matter a long time.

[n] In this discourse,* the orator, the better to succeed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For this purpose, he represents Philip in two very different lights. On one side, he is a man whose unbounded ambition the empire of the whole world would not satiate, a haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies, as so many subjects or slaves; and who, for that reason, is no less incensed by too slow a submission, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent on taking advantage of the oversights and errors of others, seizes with eagerness every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who supports perpetually the most severe toils, without allowing himself a moment's repose, or having the least regard to the difference of seasons; an intrepid hero, who rushes through obstacles, and plunges into the midst of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purse bargains, traffics, buys, and employs gold no less than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune lavishes her favours, and for whom she seems to have forgotten her inconstancy: but, on the other side, this same Philip is an imprudent man, who measures his vast projects, not by his strength, but merely by his ambition; a rash man, who, by his attempts, himself digs the grave of his own grandeur,

[n] Olynth. ii.

* The oration which Demosthenes pronounced at that time, is generally looked upon as the second of the three Olynthiacs which relate to this subject. But M. de Tourreil, chiefly on the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which ought to be of great weight on this occasion, changes the order generally observed in Demosthenes's orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthiacs. Though I am of his opinion, I shall cite the orations in the order they are printed.

and opens precipices before him, down which a small effort would throw him; a knave, whose power is raised on the most ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith, and villany; an usurper, hated universally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, detested even in the heart of his dominions, in which, by the infamy of his manners and his other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his soldiers, and of all his subjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of destroying by any hand that will administer to their wrath, and second their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Tourreil draws, by uniting the several detached lineaments in the present oration of Demosthenes. By this we see the great freedom with which the Athenians spoke of so powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having represented Philip one moment as formidable, the next as very easy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing such an enemy, would be to reform the new abuses, to revive the ancient order and regulations, to appease domestic dissensions, and to suppress the cabals which are incessantly forming; and all this in such a manner, that every thing may unite in the sole point of the public service; and that, at a common expence, every man, according to his abilities, may concur in the destruction of the common enemy.

Demades, * bribed by Philip's gold, opposed very strenuously the advice of Demosthenes, but in vain; for the Athenians sent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty galleys and two thousand men to succour the Olynthians, who in this urgent necessity, which so nearly affected all the

* Suidas in voce Δημάδης.

Greeks in general, could obtain assistance only from the Athenians.

However, this succour did not prevent the designs of Philip, nor the progress of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes several places of strength, makes himself master of the fortress of Gira, which he demolishes, and spreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus more closely pressed, and menaced with destruction, sent a second embassy to Athens, to solicit a new reinforcement. Demosthenes argues very strongly in favour of their request, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and interest to have regard to it. This is the subject of the Olynthiac generally reckoned as the third. A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

The orator, always animated with a strong and lively zeal for the safety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by setting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a most dreadful prospect of the future, if they do not rouse from their lethargy: for that, in case Philip seizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greatest difficulty was the means of raising sufficient sums for defraying the expences requisite for the succour of the Olynthians; because the military funds were otherwise employed, viz. for the celebration of the public games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a thirty years' peace with the Lacedæmonians, they resolved to put into their treasury, by way of reserve, a thousand talents every year; at the same time prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulsing an enemy who should invade Attica. This was at first observed with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new institutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, proposed to distribute

among them, in times of peace,* the thousand talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the public shows, upon condition, however, that they might resume this fund in time of war. The proposal was approved, and the restriction also. But as all concessions of this kind degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athenians were so highly pleased with this distribution (called by Demades *birdlime by which the Athenians would be catched*) that they would not suffer it to be retrenched upon any account. The abuse was carried to such a height, that Eubulus, one of the heads of the faction which opposed Demosthenes, caused a decree to be passed, prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, from so much as proposing to restore, for the service of the war, those funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and public shows. Apollodorus was even punished for declaring himself of a contrary opinion, and for insisting upon it.

This absurd profusion had very strange effects. It was impossible to supply it but by imposing taxes, the inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated strong feuds, and made the military preparations so very slow as quite defeated the design of them, without lessening the expence. As the artificers and seafaring people, who composed above two-thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their substance, and only lent their personal services, the whole weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. These murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with suffering the public moneys to be squandered upon festivals, plays, and the like superfluities. But the people being sensible of their superiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to curtail their diversions, merely

* These games, besides the two oboli which were distributed to each of the persons present, occasioned a great number of other expences.

to ease people who possessed employments and dignities from which they were entirely excluded. Besides, any person who should dare to propose this to the people seriously and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demosthenes presumed to introduce this subject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmost art and circumspection. After showing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprises of Philip, he hints (but covertly) that there are no other funds than those which were expended on theatrical representations, which can be assigned for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demands that commissioners might be nominated, not to enact new laws, (there being already but too many established,) but to examine and abolish such as should be found prejudicial to the welfare of the republic. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital punishment, as enacted by those laws; because he did not require that they should be actually abolished, but only that commissioners might be nominated to inspect them. He only hinted, how highly necessary it was to abolish a law which gave pain to the most zealous citizens, and reduced them to this sad alternative, either to ruin themselves, in case they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to destroy their country, in case they observed a fearful prevaricating silence.

These remonstrances do not seem to have had the success they deserved, since in the following Olynthiac (which is commonly placed as the first) the orator was obliged to inveigh once more against the misapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorously attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill succoured by the mercenary soldiery of Athens, required, by a third embassy, a body of troops, which should not consist of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inspired with a sincere

ardour for the interest both of their own glory and the common cause. The Athenians, at the earnest solicitation of Demosthenes, sent Chares a second time, with a reinforcement of seventeen galleys, of two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requested.

A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. [o] The following year Philip possessed himself of Olynthus. Neither the succours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domestic enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Lasthenes, two of its most eminent citizens, and actually in office at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and sells the rest for slaves; and distinguishes those who had betrayed their city, no otherwise than by the supreme contempt he expressed for them. This king, like his son Alexander, loved the treason but abhorred the traitor. And indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? [p] Every one, even the common soldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Lasthenes for their perfidy; and when they complained to Philip upon that account, he only made this ironical answer, infinitely more severe than the reproach itself: "Do not mind "what a pack of vulgar fellows say, who call every "thing by its real name."

The king was overjoyed at his being possessed of this city, which was of the utmost importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conquests. [q] Some years before, the Olynthians had long resisted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little resistance, at least had not lost many men in the siege.

[o] Diod. l. xvi. p. 450—452. [p] Plut. in Apophth. p. 178.
[q] Diod. l. xv. p. 341.

He now caused shows and public games to be exhibited with the utmost magnificence: to these he added feasts and entertainments, in which he made himself very popular, bestowing on all the guests considerable gifts, and treating them with the utmost marks of his friendship.

SECT. IV. *Philip declares in favour of Thebes against the Phocæans, and thereby engages in the sacred war. He lulls the Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Demosthenes, into security, by a pretended peace and false promises. He seizes on Thermopylæ, subjects the Phocæans, and puts an end to the sacred war. He is admitted into the council of the Amphictyons.*

THE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war which they had so long carried on against the Phocæans, had recourse to Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality with respect to the sacred war; and he seemed to wait, in order to declare himself, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness, and those ambitious views, with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The instant therefore that they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republic, in opposition to the Phocæans. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himself master of it. To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense as to imagine, that the latter choice

A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

would assist his design of securing to himself a share in the affairs of Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude which he affected to feel for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to derive honour from the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the insulted god; and was very glad to gain the reputation of a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god, and of the temple of Delphi, in order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to screen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and sometimes even of religion; though they very frequently, in the main, have no manner of regard for either.

'There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the sacred war to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair; and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis: but then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocæans. His business therefore was to deceive them, by placing other objects in their view; and on this occasion the politics of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burdensome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phry-

[r] Demosth. Orat. de falsâ Legatione.

non to sound the intentions of Philip, and discover what were his sentiments with regard to a peace. They related that Philip did not appear averse to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy, to enquire more strictly into the truth, and to procure the fullest information which so important a negociation required. Æschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately sent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then that Demosthenes, who in his first embassy had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promised to return and ransom them at his own expence, endeavours to keep his word; and, in the mean time, advises his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republic had commanded; and to wait as soon as possible upon Philip, in what place soever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy dispatch, as they were desired, go an ambassador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, stay three months in that country, and give Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, having come to a conference with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace: but he, content with having lulled them asleep by the specious pretence of a treaty, deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambassadors one after another by presents, Demosthenes excepted, who, being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose.

In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pheræ in

Thessaly, he at last ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuses to include the Phocæans in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had signed the treaty, it occasioned very great joy in that city, especially among those who were averse to the war, and dreaded the consequences of it. Among these was Isocrates.[s] He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whose prosperity he had very much at heart. The weakness of his voice, together with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in public, and mounting like others the tribunal. He had opened a school in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and success. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of public affairs; and as others served their country *vivâ voce*, in the public assemblies, Isocrates endeavoured to benefit it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and these being soon made public, were very eagerly sought after.

On the present occasion, he wrote a piece of considerable length, which he addressed to Philip, with whom he held a correspondence, but in such terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at least fourscore and eight. The scope of this discourse was, to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had just before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms against the king of Persia. The business was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the rest depended, viz. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confesses, that if Sparta or Athens were as powerful as formerly, he should be far from making such a proposal, which he was sensible they would never approve; and which the pride of those two republics, whilst cherished and augmented by success, would reject with disdain. But that now, as the most powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled each

[s] Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

in their turn by fatal reverses of fortune, have equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had begun to set them; the present is the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the several cities of Greece.

In case he should be so happy as to succeed in such a project, so glorious and beneficial a success would raise him above whatever had hitherto appeared most august in Greece. But the bare project in itself, though it should not have so happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conquests he might hope to obtain.

Some persons indeed, who were prejudiced against Philip, represent and exclaim against him as a crafty prince, who gives a specious pretext to his march, but, at the same time, has in reality no other object in view than the enslaving of Greece. Isocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a desire of bringing Philip into his views, supposes, that rumours so injurious as these have no manner of foundation; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being descended from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, should think of invading and tyrannizing over it. But these very reports, which are so capable of blackening his name and of sullying all his glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the falsity of them in the presence of all Greece by proofs that cannot be suspected, by leaving and maintaining each city in the full possession of its laws and liberties; by removing with the utmost care all suspicions of partiality; by not espousing the interest of one people against another; by winning the confidence of all men by a noble disinterestedness and an invariable love of justice: in fine, by aspiring to no other title than that of the reconciler of the divisions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It is in the king of Persia's dominions that he ought to seek and to merit those last titles. The conquest of it is open and sure to him, in case he could succeed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He should call to mind, that Agesilaus, with no other forces than those of Sparta, shook the Persian throne, and would infallibly have subverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece by the intestine divisions which then broke out. The signal victory of the ten thousand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the sight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip against a prince inferior in every respect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Isocrates concludes with declaring, that it seemed as if the gods had hitherto granted Philip so long a train of successes, with no other view than to enable him to form and execute the glorious enterprise, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counsel he gave to three heads: That this prince should govern his own empire with wisdom and justice; should heal the divisions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without desiring to possess any part of it himself; and this being done, that he should turn his victorious arms against a country which in all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their destruction. It must be confessed that this is a most noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Isocrates had a very false idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not possess the equity, moderation, or disinterestedness, which such a project required. He really intended to attack Persia, but was persuaded that it was his business first to make himself secure of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by kind services, but by force. He did not endeavour either to win over or persuade nations, but to subject and reduce them. As on his side he had no manner of regard

for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himself, and wished to bind them to himself by much stronger ties than those of friendship, gratitude, and sincerity.

As Demosthenes was better acquainted with the state of affairs than Isocrates, so he formed a truer judgment of Philip's designs. Upon his return from his embassy, he declares expressly, that he does not approve either of the discourse or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æschines, who had been bribed, assures the Athenians that he had discovered nothing but the greatest candour and sincerity in the promises and proceedings of this king. He had engaged that Thespiæ and Platææ should be repeopled, in spite of the opposition of the Thebans; that in case he should succeed in subjecting the Phocæans, he would preserve them, and not do them the least injury; that he would restore Thebes to the good order which had before been observed in it; that Oropus should be given up absolutely to the Athenians; and that, as an equivalent for Amphipolis, they should be put in possession of Eubœa. It was to no purpose that Demosthenes remonstrated to his fellow-citizens, that Philip, notwithstanding all these glorious promises, was endeavouring to make himself absolute master of Phocis; and that by abandoning it to him they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not attended to; and the oration of Æschines, who engaged that Philip would make good his several promises, prevailed over that of Demosthenes.

[t] These deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to possess himself of Thermopylæ, and to enter Phocis. Hitherto there had been no possibility of reducing the Phocæans: but Philip had only to appear; the bare sound of his name filled A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346.

[t] Diod. l. xvi. p. 455.

them with terror. Upon the supposition that he was marching against a herd of sacrilegious wretches, not against common enemies, he ordered all his soldiers t wear crowns of laurel, and led them to battle asounder the conduct of the god himself whose honour they avenged. The instant they appeared, the Phocæans believed themselves overcome. Accordingly, they sue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire into Peloponnesus, with the eight thousand men in his service. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, engrossed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. *This victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the sole topic of conversation in that country. He was considered as the avenger of sacrilege, and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their majesty with so much courage and success.

Philip, that he might not seem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, assembles the council of the Amphictyons, and appoints them, for form' sake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocæans had rendered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of these judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis shall be destroyed, that they should all be reduced to small towns of sixty houses each, and that those towns shall be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches who had committed the sacrilege shall be irrevocably proscribed; and that the rest shall not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which shall

* *Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit. Illum vindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem religionum. Itaque Diis proximus habetur, per quem Deorum majestas vindicata sit.* Justin. l. viii. c. 2.

continue to be levied till such time as the whole sums taken out of the temple of Delphi shall be repaid. Philip did not forget himself on this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their right of session in the council of the Amphictyons, which they had been declared to have forfeited, should be transferred to him. The Amphictyons, of whose vengeance he had now been the instrument, were afraid of refusing him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumstance of the highest importance to him, as we shall see in the sequel, and of very dangerous consequence to all the rest of Greece. They also gave him the superintendence of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Bœotians and Thessalians; because the Corinthians, who possessed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themselves unworthy of it, by sharing in the sacrilege of the Phocæans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocæans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong step they had taken in refusing to comply with the counsels of Demosthenes; and in abandoning themselves blindly to the vain and idle promises of a traitor, who had sold his country. Besides the shame and grief with which they were seized, for having failed in the obligations by which they were bound to the Phocæans by their confederacy with them, they found that they had betrayed their own interests in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by possessing himself of Phocis, was become master of Thermopylæ, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. [u]The Athenians, therefore, being justly alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children should be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls should be repaired, and the Piræeus fortified,

[u] Demost. de fals. Legat. p. 312.

in order to put themselves into a state of defence in case of an invasion.

The Athenians had no share in the decree by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphictyons. They perhaps had absented themselves purposely, that they might not authorize it by their presence; or, which was more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obstacles and avoid the impediments he might meet with in the execution of his design, assembled, in an irregular manner, such of the Amphictyons alone as were entirely at his devotion. In short, he conducted his intrigue so very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be disputed as clandestine and irregular; and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the states, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but in an assembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, several were of opinion that no notice should be taken of it. Demosthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their interest to infringe it in the present juncture; since that could not be done without stirring up against the Athenians both the new Amphictyon and those who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they should not expose themselves unseasonably to the dangerous consequences which might ensue, in case of their determinate refusal to consent to the almost unanimous decree of the Amphictyons; and protested, that it was their interest prudently to submit, for fear of worse, to the present condition of the times; that is, to comply with what was not in their power to prevent. This is the subject of Demosthenes' discourse, entitled, *Oration on the Peace.* We may reasonably believe that his advice was followed.

SECT. V. *Philip, being returned to Macedonia, extends his conquests into Illyria and Thrace. He projects a league with the Thebans, the Messenians, and the Argives, to invade Peloponnesus in concert with them. Athens having declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, this league is dissolved. He again makes an attempt upon Eubœa, but Phocion drives him out of it. Character of that celebrated Athenian. Philip besieges Perinthus and Byzantium. The Athenians, animated by the orations of Demosthenes, send succours to those two cities, under the command of Phocion, who forces Philip to raise the siege of those places.*

AFTER Philip had settled every thing relating to the worship of the god, and the security of the temple of Delphi, he returned into Macedonia crowned with glory, and carrying with him the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. [x] Diodorus observes, that all those who had shared in profaning and plundering the temple, perished miserably, and came to a tragical end. A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344.

[y] Philip, satisfied with having opened to himself a passage into Greece by his seizure of Thermopylæ; having subjected Phocis, established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphictyon; and gained the esteem and applause of all nations, by his zeal to avenge the honour of the deity; judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to check his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, by discovering too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order therefore to remove all suspicion, and to soothe the disquietudes which arose on that occasion, he turned

[x] Diod. l. xvi. p. 456. [y] Ibid. p. 463.

his arms against Illyria, purposely to extend his frontiers on that side, and to keep his troops always in exercise by some new expedition.

The same motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had dispossessed the Athenians of several strong places in that country. Philip still carried on his conquests there. *Suidas observes, that before he took Olynthus, he had made himself master of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. The Chersonesus also was situated very commodiously for him. This was a very rich peninsula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants put themselves under the protection of Lacedæmonia, when Lysander had captured Athens; but submitted again to their first masters, after Conon, the son of Timotheus, had reinstated his country. Cotys, king of Thrace, afterwards dispossessed the Athenians of the Chersonesus; [z] but it was restored to them by Chersobleptus, son of Cotys, who finding himself unable to defend it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; reserving, however, to himself Cardia, which was the most considerable city of the peninsula, and formed, as it were, the gate and entrance of it. [a] After Philip had deprived Chersobleptus of his kingdom, which happened the second year of the 109th Olympiad, the inhabitants of Cardia being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city as having formerly belonged to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.

A. M. 3661. Ant. J. C. 343.

A. M. 3662. Ant. J. C. 342.

[b] Diopithes, the head of the colony which the Athenians had sent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the

[z] Diod. l. xvi. p. 434. [a] Ibid. p. 464.
[b] Liban. in Demosth. p. 75.

* In Καραν.

commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully persuaded that it would not be disavowed, marches suddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, whilst he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plunders them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged safe in Chersonesus. Philip, not being able to revenge himself in the manner he could have wished, contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters on that subject. Such as received pensions from him in Athens, served him but too effectually. These venal wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at least excusable. They declaim against Diopithes; impeach him of involving the state in war; accuse him of extortion and piracy; insist upon his being recalled, and prosecute his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.

Demosthenes seeing at this juncture that the public welfare was inseparably connected with that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration *on the Chersonesus*. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comic poet, whom Terence has copied so faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. However, Demosthenes lays the least stress on this, because it was personal; he nevertheless pleads his apology (transiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the islands and cities of Asia Minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exercise oppressions, and ransom allies very unseasonably. But in this case, a bare decree, an accusation in due form, * a galley ap-

* It was called Πάραλος.

pointed to bring home the recalled general; all this is sufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's enterprises. These cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but raising troops, and fitting out galleys.

"Your orators," says he, "cry out eternally to "you, that we must make choice either of peace "or war; but Philip does not leave this at our "option, he who is daily meditating some new "enterprise against us. And can we doubt but it "was he who broke the peace, unless it is pre-"tended that we have no reason to complain of "him, as long as he shall forbear making any at-"tempts on Attica and the Piræeus? But it will then "be too late for us to oppose him; and it is now "that we must prepare strong barriers against his "ambitious designs. You ought to lay it down as "a certain maxim, O Athenians! that it is you he "aims at; that he considers you as his most dan-"gerous enemies; that your ruin alone can esta-"blish his tranquillity, and secure his conquests; "and that whatever he is now projecting, is merely "with the view of falling upon you, and of reducing "Athens to a state of subjection. And indeed, can "any of you be so vastly simple, as to imagine that "Philip is so greedy of a few paltry towns,* (for "what other name can we bestow on those which he "now attacks?) as to submit to fatigues, the incle-"mency of the seasons, and dangers, merely for the "sake of gaining them; but that as for the har-"bours, the arsenals, the galleys, the silver mines, "and the immense revenues of the Athenians; that "he considers these with indifference, does not covet "them in the least, but will suffer you to remain "in quiet possession of them?

"What conclusion are we to draw from all that "has been said? Why, that so far from cashiering "the army we have in Thrace, it must be consider-

* In Thrace.

"ably reinforced and strengthened by new levies, "in order that, as Philip has always one in readi- "ness to oppress and enslave the Greeks, we, on "our side, may always have one on foot to defend "and preserve them." There is reason to believe that Demosthenes's advice was followed.

[c] The same year that this oration was spoken, Arymbas, king of the Molossi or Epirus, died. He was son of Alcetas, and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias was married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the influence and authority of his son-in-law, was raised so high as to share the regal power with his elder brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This first unjust action was followed by a greater. For after the death of Arymbas,* Philip played his part so well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Molossians expelled Æacidas, son and lawful successor to Arymbas, and established Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, sole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but son-in-law, to Philip, whose daughter Cleopatra he had married, as will be observed in the sequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas re-ascended the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, and transmitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus, (so celebrated in the Roman history,) and second cousin to Alexander the Great, Alcetas being grandfather to both those monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponnesus. [d] Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedæmonia assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than that of being the strongest. Argos and Messene being oppressed, had recourse

[c] Diod. l. xvi. p. 465.

[d] Demosth. in Philipp. ii. Liban. in Demosth.

* Justin, book viii. ch. 6. curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds this succession.

to Philip. He had just before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators that had been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However, so far from that, after having subdued Phocis, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which presented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta made them foment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore solicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians, and Argives, in order to humble in concert the power of Lacedæmonia.

This prince readily came into an alliance which suited his views. He proposed to the Amphictyons, or rather dictated to them, the decree, which ordained that Lacedæmonia should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independence, pursuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedæmonia, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to succour them; and by an embassy pressed earnestly for the concluding of such an alliance as their common safety might require. The several powers, whose interest it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, used their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. Philip represented, by his ambassadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war against him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing so was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broken his word in this particular, he must first have given it; and that the treaties themselves proved manifestly that he had not made any promise to that purpose. Philip indeed said true, with regard to the written articles and the

public stipulations; but Æschines had made this promise by word of mouth in his name. On the other side, the ambassadors of Thebes, of Argos, and Messene, were also very urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already secretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the professed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus.

[e] But Demosthenes, insensible to all these solicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real interest of his country, ascended the tribunal, in order to enforce the negociation of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his usual custom, with supineness and indolence. He exposes the ambitious designs of Philip, which he still pursues, and declares that they aim at no less than the conquest of all Greece. "You excel," says he to them, "both you and he, in that circumstance which is the object of your application and your cares. You speak better than he, and he acts better than you. The experience of the past ought at least to open your eyes, and make you more suspicious and circumspect with regard to him: but this serves to no other purpose than to lull you asleep. At this time his troops are marching towards Peloponnesus; he is sending money to it, and his arrival in person, at the head of a powerful army, is expected every moment. Do you think that you will be secure, after he shall have possessed himself of the territories round you? Art has invented for the security of cities various methods of defence, as ramparts, walls, ditches, and the like works; but nature surrounds the wise with a common bulwark, which covers them on all sides, and provides for the security of states. What is this bulwark? It is distrust." He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouse from their lethargy; to send immediate succour to the

[e] Philipp. ii.

Lacedæmonians; and, above all, to punish directly all such domestic traitors as have deceived the people, and brought their present calamities upon them, by spreading false reports, and employing captious assurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invasion of Peloponnesus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the same time. However, he did not sit still, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time considered Eubœa as well calculated, from its situation, to favour the designs he meditated against Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to possess himself of it. He indeed set every engine to work at that time, in order to seize upon that island, which he called the *Shackles of Greece*. But the Athenians, on the other side, were highly interested in not suffering it to fall into the hands of an enemy; especially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge. However, according to their usual custom, they continued indolent whilst Philip pursued his conquests. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and by dint of presents bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. [f] At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he sent some troops privately thither; possessed himself of several strong places; dismantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants or kings over the country. He also seized upon Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Eubœa, of which it possessed the fourth part; and established five tyrants over it, who exercised an absolute authority there in his name.

[g] Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria sent a deputa-

[f] Demosth. Philipp. iii. p. 93.
[g] Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 746, 747.

tion to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians upon this sent some troops under the command of Phocion. [h] That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have, in the sequel, a great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestic. He had studied in the Academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that school had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told that no Athenian ever saw him laugh, weep, or go to the public baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked barefoot,* and without a cloak, unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say, laughing, "See! Phocion has got his cloak on; it "is a sign of a hard winter."

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great designs he may undertake during his administration. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it, and with great success. Persuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsic value; Phocion had formed a lively, close, concise style, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day absent in an assembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it: "I am considering," says he, "whether it is "not possible for me to retrench some part of the "discourse which I am to make." He was a strong reasoner, and by that means prevailed over the most sublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the public, say, "There

[h] Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 743, 745.

* Socrates used often to walk in that manner.

" is the axe which cuts away the whole effect of my " words." One would imagine that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the same things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not so with the Athenians. Lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word, and really understood him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in this point surpassed even Demosthenes; which is saying a great deal.

Phocion observing that those persons, who at this time were concerned in the administration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themselves merely to haranguing the people and proposing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leosthenes, and Chares, advanced themselves by military employments; he chose rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, political science with military valour. Whilst he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wise government; and yet he commanded in more expeditions, not only than all the generals of his time, but even than all his predecessors. He was honoured with the supreme command five-and-forty times, without having once asked or made interest for it; and it was always in his absence that he was appointed to command the armies. The world was astonished, that, being of so severe a turn of mind, and so great an enemy to flattery of every kind, he should know how, in a manner, to fix in his own favour the natural levity and inconstancy of the Athenians, though he frequently used to oppose very strenuously their will and caprice, without regard to their captiousness and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themselves of his pro-

bity and zeal for the public good, extinguished every other sentiment; and that, according to Plutarch, was what generally made his eloquence so efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this slight idea of Phocion's character, because frequent mention will be made of him in the sequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude, set up the standard against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the very army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to act upon this unforeseen perfidy; for he pursued his enterprise, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria. A. M. 3663. Ant. J. C. 341.

After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens; but he was no sooner gone, than all the allies regretted the absence of his goodness and justice. Though the professed enemy of every kind of oppression and extortion, he knew how to insinuate himself into the minds of men with art; and at the same time that he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him still more. He one day made Chabrias a fine answer, who appointed him to go with ten light vessels to levy the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. "To what "purpose," says he, "is such a squadron? too "strong, if I am only to visit allies; but too weak, "if I am to fight enemies." The Athenians knew very well, by the consequences, the signal services which Phocion's great capacity, valour, and experience, had done them in the expedition of Eubœa. For Molossus, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was so unsuccessful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

[1] Philip, who did not lay aside the design he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed his plan A. M. 3664. Ant. J. C. 340.

[1] Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 486, 487.

of attack, and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want than any other of foreign corn. To dispose at his discretion of their supplies, and by that means starve Athens, he marches towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander in it, with sovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subject to Macedonia, who had considered the kings's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing lest, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself inconsiderately to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him in order to become his master, and train him under his own eye in the art of war.

Demosthenes still continued to exclaim against the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouse from their lethargy; and also against the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amused the people under the specious pretence of a peace which he had sworn to, yet violated openly every day by the enterprises he formed against the commonwealth. This is the subject of his orations, called the Philippics.

"[k] Whence comes it," says he, "that all the "Greeks formerly panted so strongly after liberty, "and now run so eagerly into servitude? The "reason is, because there prevailed at that time "among the people, what prevails no longer among "us; that which triumphed over the riches of the

[k] Philipp. iii. p. 90.

" Persians; which maintained the freedom of " Greece; which never acted inconsistently on " any occasion either by sea or by land; but " which being now extinguished in every heart, " has entirely ruined our affairs, and utterly sub- " verted the constitution of Greece. It is that " common hatred, that general detestation, in " which they held every person who had a soul " abject enough to sell himself to any man who " desired either to enslave or even corrupt Greece. " In those times, to accept of a present was a ca- " pital crime, which never failed of being punished " with death. Neither their orators nor their ge- " nerals exercised the scandalous traffic now be- " come so common in Athens, where a price is set " upon every thing, and where all things are sold " to the highest bidder.

[l] " In those happy times, the Greeks lived in a " perfect union, founded on the love of the public " good, and the desire of preserving and defending " the common liberty. But in this age, the states " abandon one another, and give themselves up to " reciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All of them, " without exception, Argives, Thebans, Corin- " thians, Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and our- " selves no less than others; all, all, I say, form " a separate interest; and this it is that renders " the common enemy so powerful.

[m] " The safety of Greece consists, therefore, in " our uniting together against this common enemy, " if that be possible. But at least, as to what con- " cerns each of us in particular, this incontestable " maxim should be deeply engraven in your minds, " that Philip is actually attacking you at this time; " that he has infringed the peace; that by seizing " upon all the fortresses around you, he opens and " prepares the way for attacking you yourselves; " and that he considers us as his mortal enemies, " because he knows that we are the only persons

[l] Philipp. iv. p. 102. [m] Ibid. p. 97.

" capable of opposing the ambitious designs he en-
" tertains of grasping universal power.
[n] " These consequently we must oppose with all
" imaginable vigour; and for that purpose must
" ship off, without loss of time, the necessary aids
" for the Chersonesus and Byzantium; you must
" provide instantly whatever necessaries your ge-
" nerals may require: in fine, you must concert
" together such means as are most proper to save
" Greece, which is now threatened with the utmost
" danger. [o] Though all the rest of the Greeks
" should bow their necks to the yoke, yet you, O
" Athenians! ought to persist in fighting always
" for the cause of liberty. After such preparations
" made in presence of all Greece, let us excite all
" other states to second us; let us acquaint every
" people with our resolutions, and send ambassa-
" dors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes, Chio, and espe-
" cially to the king of Persia; for it is his interest,
" as well as ours, to check the career of that man."

The sequel will show, that Demosthenes's advice was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards the Chersonesus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace. [p] The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to succour that place, the orators prevailed so far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was universally despised, for his manners, rapine, and mean capacity; but intrigues and influence supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed over the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The success answered the rashness of the choice which had been made: [q] but what could be expected from a general whose abilities were as

[n] Philipp. iii. p. 88.
[o] Ibid. p. 94, 95.
[p] Plutarch, in Phoc. p. 747.
[q] Athen. l. xii. p. 530.

mall as his voluptuousness was great; who took along with him in his military expeditions a band of musicians, both vocal and instrumental, who were in his pay, and whose salary was defrayed out of the moneys appointed for the service of the fleet! In short, the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours; so that his fidelity being universally suspected, he was obliged to sail from coast to coast, ransoming the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

[r] In the mean time, Philip was carrying on the siege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty-thousand chosen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raised towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one side he shook the foundations of them by subterraneous mines; and on the other he beat down whole masses with his battering-rams: nor did the besieged make a less vigorous resistance; for as soon as one breach was made, Philip was surprised to see another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium sent them all the succours necessary. The Asiatic satrapæ, or governors, by the king of Persia's order, to whom we have seen the Athenians had applied for assistance, likewise threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours the Byzantines gave them, went in person to form the siege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was desirous to appear (in outward show) very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse with fine words. At the time we now speak of, Philip, by way of precaution against their

[r] Diod. l. xvi. p. 466—468.

disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours to take off the edge of their resentments, by reproaching them in the strongest terms, for their infraction of the several treaties, which he boasts he had observed very religiously: in this piece he interspersed very artfully (for he was a great master of eloquence) such complaints and menaces as are best calculated to restrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or shame. This letter is a master-piece in the original. A majestic and persuasive vivacity shines in every part of it; a strength and justness of reasoning sustained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural consequence; a delicate irony: in fine, that noble and concise style which is so well suited to crowned heads. We might here very justly apply to Philip, what was said of Cæsar,* "That he handled the "pen as well as he did the sword."

This letter is so long, and besides is filled with so great a number of particular facts (though each of these are important) that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I shall therefore cite but one passage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the rest.

"At the time of our most open ruptures," says Philip to the Athenians, "you went no farther than "to fit out privateers against me; to seize and sell "the merchants that came to trade in my domi- "nions; to favour any party that opposed my "measures; and to infest the places subject to "me by your hostilities: but now you carry hatred "and injustice to such prodigious lengths, as even "to send ambassadors to the Persian, in order "to excite him to declare war against me. This "must appear a most astonishing circumstance; "for before he had made himself master of Egypt

* *Eodem animo dixit, quo bellavit.* Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

"and Phœnicia, you had resolved, in the most "solemn manner, that in case he should attempt "any new enterprise, you then would invite me, in "common with the rest of the Greeks, to unite our "forces against him. And, nevertheless, at this "time you carry your hatred to such a height as "to negociate an alliance with him against me. I "have been told, that formerly your fathers imputed "to the son of Pisistratus, as an unpardonable crime, "his having requested the succour of the Persian "against the Greeks; and yet you do not blush to "commit yourselves what you were perpetually "condemning in the person of your tyrants."

Philip's letter did him as much service as a good manifesto, and gave his pensioners in Athens a fine opportunity of justifying him to people who were very desirous of easing themselves of political inquietudes, and greater enemies to expence and labour, than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundless ambition of Philip and the eloquent zeal of Demosthenes were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very industriously, with a specious pretence, his enterprises and infractions of the treaty; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion, Demosthenes was sensible how highly necessary it was to erase, as soon as possible, the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately ascends the tribunal. He at first speaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and sometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an express declaration of war; and then, to animate his fellow-citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspires them, he assures them that all things portend the

impending ruin of Philip; the gods, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes does not observe, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoids contesting facts, which might have been disadvantageous, so happily had Philip disposed them, and so well had he supported them by proofs that seemed unanswerable.

The conclusion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this: "Convinced of these truths, "O Athenians! and strongly persuaded that we "can no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy "peace, (for Philip has now declared war against "us by his letter, and has long done the same by "his conduct,) you ought not to spare either the "public treasure or the possessions of private persons; but when occasion shall require, haste to "your respective standards, and set abler generals "at your head than those you have hitherto employed. For no one among you ought to imagine, "that the same men who have ruined your affairs "will be able to restore them to their former happy "situation. Think how infamous it is, that a man "from Macedon should contemn dangers to such "a degree, that, merely to aggrandize his empire, "he should rush into the midst of combats, and re"turn from battle covered with wounds; and that "Athenians, whose hereditary right it is to obey "no man, but to impose law on others sword in "hand; that Athenians, I say, merely through de"jection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate "from the glory of their ancestors, and abandon "the interest of their country."

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the shameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raised a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their having sent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then rose up, and told

Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.

the people, "That they ought not to be exasperated at the distrust of the allies, but at the conduct of the generals who had occasioned it. For "it is these," continued he, "who render you odious and formidable even to those who cannot "save themselves from destruction without your "assistance." And indeed Chares, as we have already observed, was a general without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit consisted in having gained a great ascendant over the people by the haughty and bold air which he assumed. His presumption concealed his incapacity from himself; and a sordid principle of avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterprises.

The people, struck with this discourse, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the allies upon the Hellespont. This choice contributed more than any thing to the preservation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but still more for his probity and disinterestedness. The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as if they had been their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which seemed to be animated by the sight of danger. [t] Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. This very much diminished his fame and glory; for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing had been able to oppose him.

A. M. 3665. Ant. J. C. 339.

[t] Diod. l. xvi. p. 468.

Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned; and having made several descents upon different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces having assembled to check his progress, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

"The Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens by a very honourable decree, preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here. "Under Bosphoricus the pontiff,* Damagetus, "after having desired leave of the senate to speak, "said, in a full assembly: Inasmuch as in times "past the constant good will of the people of Athens "towards the Byzantines and Perinthians, united "by alliance and a common origin, has never failed "upon any occasion; as this good will, so often "signalized, has lately displayed itself, when Phi-"lip of Macedon (who had taken up arms to de-"stroy Byzantium and Perinthus) battered our "walls, burnt our country, cut down our forests; "as in a season of so great calamity this benefi-"cent people has succoured us with a fleet of a "hundred and twenty sail, furnished with provi-"sions, arms, and forces; as they have saved us "from the greatest danger; in fine, as they have "restored us to the quiet possession of our govern-"ment, our laws, and our tombs: the Byzantines "and Perinthians, by a decree, grant to the Athe-"nians liberty to settle in the countries belonging "to Perinthus and Byzantium; to marry in them, "to purchase lands, and to enjoy all the preroga-"tives of citizens: they also grant them a distin-"guished place at public shows, and the right of "sitting both in the senate and the assembly of the "people, next to the pontiffs: and further, that "every Athenian, who shall think proper to settle "in either of the two cities above mentioned, shall

" Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 487, 488.

* He probably was the chief magistrate.

" be exempted from taxes of any kind: that in the " harbour, three statues of sixteen cubits each shall " be set up, which statues shall represent the people " of Athens crowned by those of Byzantium and " Perinthus: and besides, that presents shall be sent " to the four solemn games of Greece; and that the " crown we have decreed to the Athenians shall " there be proclaimed; so that the same ceremony " may acquaint all the Greeks, both with the mag- " nanimity of the Athenians, and the gratitude of " the Perinthians and Byzantines."

The inhabitants of the Chersonesus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: " Among " the nations inhabiting the Chersonesus, the peo- " ple of Sestos, of Eleontum, of Madytis, and of " Alopeconnesus, decree to the people and senate " of Athens a crown of gold of sixty talents; * and " erect two altars, the one to the goddess of grati- " tude, and the other to the Athenians, for their " having, by the most glorious of all benefactions, " freed from the yoke of Philip the people of the " Chersonesus, and restored them to the possession " of their country, their laws, their liberty, and " their temples: an act of beneficence which they " will fix eternally in their memories, and never " cease to acknowledge to the utmost of their " power. All which they have resolved in full " senate."

[x] Philip, after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as

[x] Justin. l. ix. c. 2, 3. * Sixty thousand French crowns.

to know; but in cattle, in horses, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Mœsia, disputed his passage, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle; and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same blow had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid; and, covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

SECT. VI. *Philip, by his intrigues, succeeds in getting himself appointed generalissimo of the Greeks, in the council of the Amphictyons. He possesses himself of Elatæa. The Athenians and Thebans, alarmed by the conquest of this city, unite against Philip. He makes overtures of peace, which, upon the remonstrances of Demosthenes, are rejected. A battle is fought at Chæronæa, where Philip gains a signal victory. Demosthenes is accused and brought to a trial by Æschines. The latter is banished, and goes to Rhodes.*

THE Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. [y] The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments. Phocion, little suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of the events of war, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied the genius and charac-

A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338.

[y] Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 748.

ter of Philip more than Phocion, and was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacific proposals.

[z] It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war, which gave him great cau[illegible]f disquiet, and particularly distressed him by [illegible]equent depredations of the Athenian priva[illegible]ho infested the sea bordering upon his dominio[illegible]hey entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries, or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandise it wanted. Philip was sensible that it would be impossible for him to put an end to this war, and free himself from the inconveniences attending it, otherwise than by exciting the Thessalians and Thebans against Athens. He could not yet attack that city with any advantage, either by sea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to those of that republic; and the passage by land to Attica would be shut against him, as long as the Thessalians should refuse to join him, and the Thebans should oppose his passage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war against Athens, he were to ascribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very sensible that it would have no effect with either of the states: but that in case he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief, (upon the specious pretence of espousing their common cause,) he then hoped it would be easier for him to make them acquiesce in his desires, either by persuasion or deceit.

This was his aim; the smallest traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the least opportunity for any one to suspect the design he meditated. In every city he retained pensioners who sent him notice of whatever passed,

[z] Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 497, 498.

and by that means were of great use to him, and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations he raised divisions among the Locri Ozolæ, otherwise called the *Locrians of Amphissa*, from the name of their capital city: their country was situated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accused of having profaned a spot of sacred ground, by ploughing up the Cyrrhean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphi. The reader has seen that a similar cause of complaint occasioned the first sacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphictyons. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or suspicious agent, he plainly saw that the Thebans and the Thessalians would infallibly suspect his design; in which case, all parties would not fail to stand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his designs by persons in the dark, which entirely prevented their being discovered. By the assiduity of his pensioners in Athens, he had caused Æschines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the *Pylagori*, by which name those were called who were sent by the several Greek cities to the assembly of the Amphictyons. The instant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as, from being a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly against this prince, he was less suspected. Upon his remonstrances, a visit to the place was appointed, in order to inspect the spot of ground, of which the Amphissians had hitherto been considered the lawful possessors, but which they now were accused of usurping by a most sacrilegious act.

Whilst the Amphictyons were visiting the spot of ground in question, the Locrians fall upon them unawares, pour in a shower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage kindled the flames of resentment and war against these Locrians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphictyons, took the field with the army intended to punish the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In

the following assembly of the Amphictyons, the affair was debated very seriously. It was there that the orators previously bribed by Philip exerted all their eloquence, and, by a studied oration, proved to the deputies, that they must either assess themselves to support foreign soldiers and punish the rebels, or else elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to save their respective states the expence, and secure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, resolved upon the latter. Upon which, by a public decree, "ambassadors were sent to Philip "of Macedon, who, in the name of Apollo and "the Amphictyons, implore his assistance, beseech "him not to neglect the cause of that god which "the impious Amphissians make their sport; and "notify to him, that for this purpose all the Greeks, "associated in the council of the Amphictyons, "elect him for their general, with full power to "act as he shall think proper."

This was the honour to which Philip had long aspired; the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had set at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment, but immediately assembles his forces; and feigning to direct his march towards the Cyrrhean field, forgetting now both the Cyrrheans and Locrians, who had only served as a specious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had not the least regard; he possessed himself of Elatæa, the greatest city in Phocis, standing on the river Cephissus, and the most happily situated for the design he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

[a] This news being brought to Athens in the evening, spread terror through every part of the city. The next morning an assembly was summoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cries with a loud voice, "Who among you will ascend

[a] Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 501—504. Diod. lib. xvi. p. 479.

" the tribunal?" However, no person appears for that purpose: upon which he repeated the invitation several times; but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured somebody to propose some salutary counsel: For, says Demosthenes, (from whom these particulars are taken,) whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be considered as the voice of the country. During this general silence, occasioned by the universal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were seized, Demosthenes, animated at the sight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, ascends the tribunal, and endeavours to revive the spirits of the drooping Athenians, and inspire them with sentiments suitable to the present conjuncture and the necessities of the state. Excelling equally in politics and eloquence, by the extent of his superior genius, he immediately suggests a plan, which includes all that was necessary for the Athenians to perform both at home and abroad, by land as well as by sea.

The people of Athens were under a double error with regard to the Thebans, and he therefore endeavours to undeceive them. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch, and that the conquest of Elatæa has apprised them of what they are to expect from him. On the other side, they looked upon the Thebans as their most ancient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to afford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay

a considerable fine, for having *applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians that their own interest lies at stake; and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards unfolds to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then "is his design, and wherefore did he possess him- "self of Elatæa? He is desirous, on one side, to "encourage those of his faction in Thebes, and to "inspire them with greater boldness, by appearing "at the head of his army, and advancing his power "and forces around that city. On the other side, "he wishes to strike unexpectedly the opposite fac- "tion, and stun them in such a manner as may "enable him to get the better of it either by terror "or force. Philip (says he) prescribes the manner "in which you ought to act, by the example he "himself sets you. Assemble, at Eleusis, a body "of Athenians, of an age fit for service, and sup- "port these by your cavalry. By this step you "will show all Greece that you are ready armed "to defend yourselves; and inspire your partisans "in Thebes with such resolution, as may enable "them both to support their reasons, and to make "head against the opposite party, when they shall "perceive, that as those who sell their country to "Philip have forces in Elatæa ready to assist them "upon occasion, in like manner those who are "willing to fight for the preservation of their own "liberties, have you at their gates ready to defend

* He had called Athens a flourishing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. Λίπαραι καὶ ἀοίδιμαι, Ἑλλάδος ἕρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι. But the Athenians not only indemnified the poet, and sent him money to pay his fine, but even erected a statue in honour of him.

"them in case of an invasion." Demosthenes added, that it would be proper for them to send ambassadors immediately to the different states of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league against Philip.

This prudent and salutary advice was followed in every particular: and in consequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the several enterprises by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: "For this reason the "senate and people of Athens, calling to mind the "magnanimity of their ancestors, who preferred "the liberty of Greece to the safety of their own "country, have resolved, that, after offering up "prayers and sacrifices to call down the assist-"ance of the tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens "and Attica, two hundred sail of ships shall be "put to sea. That the admiral of their fleet shall "go, as soon as possible, and cruize on the other "side of the pass of Thermopylæ; while at the "same time the generals by land, at the head of a "considerable body of horse and foot, shall march "and encamp in the neighbourhood of Eleusis. "That ambassadors shall likewise be sent to the "other Greeks; but first to the Thebans, as these "are most threatened by Philip. Let them be ex-"horted not to have any dread of Philip, but to "maintain courageously their individual independ-"ence, and the common liberty of all Greece. And "let it be declared to them, that though formerly "some subjects of discontent may have cooled the "reciprocal friendship between them and us, the "Athenians, however, obliterating the remem-"brance of past transactions, will now assist them "with men, money, darts, and all kind of military "weapons; persuaded that such as are natives of "Greece may, very honourably, dispute with one "another for pre-eminence; but that they can "never, without sullying the glory of the Greeks "and derogating from the virtue of their ances-

" tors, suffer a foreigner to despoil them of that " pre-eminence, nor consent to so ignominious a " slavery."

[c] Demosthenes, who was at the head of this embassy, immediately set out for Thebes: and indeed he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince also sent ambassadors to Thebes. Among these * Python was the chief, who distinguished himself greatly by his lively and persuasive eloquence, which it was scarce possible to withstand; so that the rest of the deputies were mere babblers in comparison to him: however, he here met with a superior. [d] And, indeed, Demosthenes, in an oration where he relates the services he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this, and places the happy success of so important a negociation at the head of his political exploits.

[e] It was of the utmost importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well disciplined, and had been considered, ever since the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, as holding the first rank among the several states of Greece for valour and military skill. To effect this was no easy matter; not only because of the great service Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewise because of the ancient inveterate antipathy between Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies spoke first. They displayed, in the strongest light, the kindnesses with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented, in the most forcible manner, the great benefit they might reap from laying

[c] Plut. in Demosth. p. 853, 854.
[d] Demosth. in Orat. pro. Coron. p. 509. [e] Ibid.

* This Python was a native of Byzantium. The Athenians had presented him with the freedom of their city; after which he went over to Philip. Demosth. p. 193, 745.

Attica waste, the flocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in a league with the Athenians, Bœotia would thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the Athenians; or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already sufficiently animated Demosthenes: but the sight of an orator, who seemed to contest with him the superiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and inspired him with new vigour. To the captious arguments of Python he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatæa, which evidently discovered his designs. He represented him as a restless, enterprising, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the design of enslaving all Greece; but who, to succeed the better in his schemes, had the caution to attack the different states of it singly: a prince, whose pretended beneficence was only a snare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to disarm those whose zeal for the public liberty might be an obstacle to his enterprises. He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica, so far from satiating the inordinate avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes and the rest of the cities of Greece. That therefore the interests of the two commonwealths being henceforward inseparable, they ought to erase entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

The Thebans were not long in forming their resolution. The nervous eloquence of Demosthenes,

[f] Theopom. apud Plut. in vit. Demosth. p. 854.

says an historian, rushing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so ardent a zeal for their country and so mighty a passion for liberty, that, banishing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence, or gratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a fit of enthusiasm, and inflamed them solely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the power which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the public good. One single man swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, in both which cities he was equally loved, respected, and feared.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated, to listen to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whose sole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour. Many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions which the priestess of Delphi was said to have uttered: but Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he said that the priestess *Philippized,* implying by this expression that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who considered these oracles and predictions as idle scarecrows, and consulted reason alone. The Athenian army set out imme-

diately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, surprised at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other side, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, assembles all his forces, and enters Bœotia. His army consisted of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse: that of his enemy was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops may be said to have been equal on both sides; but the merit of the chiefs was not so. And indeed, what warrior could be compared at that time to Philip? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were no more. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him: but, not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him from the command, and had appointed as generals, Chares, who was universally despised, and Lysicles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and presumptuous audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronæa, a city of Bœotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his son Alexander, who was then but sixteen or seventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At sunrise, the signal was given on both sides. The battle was obstinate and bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both sides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, even at that time animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to signalize himself, in order to answer the confidence his father reposed in him, under whose eye he fought, and made his first essay as a commander, discovered in this battle all the

capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, together with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance, the *sacred battalion* of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his son, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they soon resumed their courage, and recovered their first post. [g] Lysicles, one of the two generals, having broken into some troops which formed the centre of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious; and hurried on by rash confidence, cried out, "Come on, my lads, let us "pursue them into Macedonia." Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, instead of profiting by the advantage they had gained, to take his phalanx in flank, pursued his troops too vigorously, said cooly, "The Athenians do not know how to conquer." Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians, in disorder, were wholly intent on pursuing those they had broken, he charged them with his phalanx; and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholesome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms, and fled with the rest. [h] It is even said, that in his flight his robe being catched by a bramble, he imagined that some of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, "Spare my life." More than a thousand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thousand taken prisoners, among whom was

[g] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. iv.
[h] Plut. in vit. decem Orat. p. 845.

Demades the orator. The loss was as great on the Theban side.

Philip, after having erected a trophy, and offered to the gods a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his victory, distributed rewards to the officers and soldiers, to each according to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory shows, that it is much easier to overcome an enemy than to conquer one's self, and triumph over one's own passions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, insulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a song the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war, and sang thus (himself beating time), "Demosthenes the Peanian, son of "Demosthenes, has said." Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himself by this behaviour, and sully his glory by an action so unworthy a king and a conqueror; but all kept silence. Demades the orator, whose soul was free, though his body was a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him, "Ah, Sir," said he, "since fortune "has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you "not ashamed to act that of Thersites?" These words, spoken with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and brought him to himself. And, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip seemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour: as if, says *an historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar ac-

* Ὑπὸ τῦ Δημάδε καθομιληθέντα ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς χάρισι. Diod.

quaintance with the Attic graces. He dismissed all the Athenian captives without any ransom, and gave the greatest part of them clothes; with the view of acquiring, by this favourable treatment, the good will of so powerful a commonwealth as Athens. In which, says Polybius,[i] he gained a second triumph, more glorious for himself, and even more advantageous, than the first: for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but those who were present in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Bœotians a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

[k] We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the event of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age.

Demosthenes seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound as it never recovered. [l] But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind anger against the man whom they might consider in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken

[i] Polyb. l. v. p. 359.
[l] Demosth. pro. Ctes. p. 514.
[k] Plut. in Isocr. p. 837. Plut in Demosth. p. 855.

to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the ditches, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions and to repair the walls, which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, the orators who opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration which they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians, (a fickle wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the person of those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too slowly) in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a public calamity which he alone seemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wise and brave conduct they seem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counsel neither fully nor early enough; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

[m] But the people did not stop here. The bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to pronounce the eulogium

[m] Plut. in Demosth. p. 855. Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 519, 520.

of those brave men; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Divine Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure; a circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

This earth entombs those victims to the state
Who fell a glorious sacrifice to zeal.
Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant chains,
Did, by their deaths alone, escape the yoke.
This Jupiter decreed: no effort, mortals,
Can save you from the mighty will of fate.
To gods alone belong the attribute
Of being free from crimes, with never-ending joy.

[n] Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this solid answer: "Censure me," says he "for the counsels I gave, "but do not calumniate me for the ill success of "them. For it is the Supreme Being who conducts and terminates all things; whereas it is "from the nature of the counsel itself that we are "to judge of the intention of him who offers it. "If therefore the event has declared in favour of "Philip, impute it not to me as a crime; since it is "God, and not myself, who disposed of the victory. But if you can prove that I did not exert "myself with probity, vigilance, and an activity indefatigable, and superior to my strength: if with "these I did not seek, I did not employ, every "method which human prudence could suggest; "and did not inspire the most necessary and noble "resolutions, such as were truly worthy of Athenians; show me this, and then give what scope "you please to your accusations."

[o] He afterwards uses that bold and sublime figure

[n] Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 505. [o] Ibid. p. 508.

which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is so highly applauded by Longinus.[p] Demosthenes endeavours to justify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not satisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner the example of the great men who had fought for the same cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Platææ. No, he makes a quite different use of them, says this rhetorician; and, on a sudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece: "No, Athenians, "you have not erred. I swear by those illustrious "men who fought by land at Marathon and Platææ; "by sea before Salamis and Artemisium; and all "those who have been honoured by the common-"wealth with the solemn rites of burial; and not those "only who have been crowned with success, and "came off victorious." Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof into this grand and pathetic manner of affirming by oaths of so extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in some measure, those ancient citizens; and makes all who die in the same glorious manner so many gods, by whose names it is proper to swear?

I have already observed in another place, how naturally apt these * orations (spoken in a most solemn manner, to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty) were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm desire to signalize themselves in battle.[q] Another ceremony observed with regard to those children whose fathers had died in

[p] Longin. de sublim. c. xiv.

[q] Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 452.

* Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptines, p. 562, observes, that the Athenians were the only people who caused funeral orations to be spoken in honour of such persons as had lost their lives in the defence of their country.

the bed of honour, was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated festival, in which shows were exhibited to the whole people, a herald came upon the stage, and producing the young orphans drest in complete armour, proclaimed with a loud voice: "These young orphans "whom an untimely death in the midst of dangers "has deprived of their illustrious fathers, have "found in the people a parent, who has taken care "of them till no longer in a state of infancy. And "now they send them back, armed cap-a-pié to "follow under the most happy auspices, their own "affairs; and invite them to emulate one another "in deserving the chief employments of the state." By such methods martial bravery, the love of one's country, and a taste for virtue and solid glory, are perpetuated in a state.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæronea, and two years before the death of Philip, that Æschines, jealous of the glory of his rival, impugned the decree which had granted him a crown of gold, and drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes. But the cause was not pleaded till seven or eight years after, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Alexander. I shall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the history of the life and actions of that prince.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. * People flocked to it from all parts (says Cicero): and they had great reason for so doing; for what sight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual dissensions and an implacable animosity against each other?

* *Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur è totâ Græciâ factus esse. Quid enim aut tam visendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quàm summorum oratorum, in gravissimâ causâ, accurata et inimicitiis incensa contentio?* Cicer. de opt. gen. Orat. n. 22.

These two orations have always been considered as the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of Demosthenes. [r] Cicero had translated the whole of it, a strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which is sufficient to make us very much regret the loss of the rest.

Amidst the numberless beauties which are conspicuous in every part of these two orations, methinks there appears, (if I may be allowed to censure the writings of such great men,) a considerable defect, that very much lessens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of solid and just eloquence; and that is, the gross, injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The same objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Antony. I have already declared, that this style, this assemblage of gross, opprobrious expressions, are the very reverse of solid eloquence; and indeed every speech, which is dictated by passion and revenge, never fails of being suspected by those who judge of it; whereas an oration that is strong and invincible from its reason and argument, and which at the same time is conducted with reserve and moderation, wins the heart, whilst it informs the understanding; and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The times seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless, Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures

[r] De opt. gen. Orat.

with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled. And it was then that he spoke these words, so highly worthy of praise in the mouth of an enemy and a rival; "But what applauses would you not "have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes "speak it himself!"

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest. For at the time that Æschines was leaving Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money; an offer which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect it. On this occasion Æschines cried out: "* How "will it be possible for me not to regret a country, "in which I leave an enemy more generous than "I can hope to find friends in any other part of "the world!"

SECT. VII. *Philip, in the assembly of the Amphictyons, is declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that important expedition. Domestic troubles in his household. He divorces Olympias, and marries another wife. He solemnizes the marriage of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander king of Epirus, and is killed at the nuptials.*

THE battle of Chæronea may be said to have enslaved Greece. Macedon at that time, with no more than thirty thousand soldiers, gained a point which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Platææ, at Salamis, and at Marathon. A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

* Some authors ascribe these words to Demosthenes; when, three years after, he met with the same fate as Æschines, and was also banished from Athens.

Philip, in the first years of his reign, had repulsed, divided, and disarmed his enemies. In the succeeding ones; he had subjected, by artifice or force, the most powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but now he prepares to revenge the injuries which Greece had received from the barbarians, and meditates no less a design than the destruction of their empire. [s] The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory (and this was the object he long had in view, and never lost sight of) was to get himself appointed, in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the Persians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia Minor.

[t] But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at home; division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, choleric, and vindictive, raised dissensions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life: not to mention that, as he himself was not a faithful husband, it is said that he experienced on his wife's part the infidelity he had so justly deserved. But whether he had a just subject of complaint, or whether it was from fickleness and inconstancy, it is certain he proceeded so far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been disgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty, however, was so exquisite that he could not resist its charms. [u] In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by

[s] Diod. l. xvi. p. 479. [t] Plut. in Alex. p. 669.

the mother's side, took it into his head to say that the Macedonians ought to beseech the gods to give them a lawful successor for their king. Upon this Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at such an insult, cried out, "Wretch, dost thou "then take me for a bastard?" and at the same time flung the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment; upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who sat at another table, was very much offended to see the feast interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his sword, and ran directly at his son. Happily the father fell, so that the guests had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his ruin. Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his sovereign, he vented his resentments in this bitter sneer: "The Macedonians, indeed, "have a captain there, vastly able to cross from "Europe into Asia; he who cannot step from one "table to another without running the hazard of "breaking his neck!" After these words, he left the hall; and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been so highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himself went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was connected with Philip by the ties of friendship and hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the first civilities and caresses were over, Philip asked him whether the Greeks were at peace among themselves? "It in- "deed becomes you, sir," replied Demaratus, "to "be concerned about Greece, who have filled your "own house with feuds and dissensions." The prince, sensibly affected with this reproach, came to himself, acknowledged his error, and sent Demaratus to Alexander to persuade him to return home.

A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

Philip did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project which he was revolving in his mind, he consults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The priestess replied, "The "victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, "and he will soon be sacrificed." Philip hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted an oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply himself entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatches with all possible diligence his domestic affairs. After this, he offers up a solemn sacrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate, with incredible magnificence, in Ægæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra, his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece; and heaped upon them every mark of friendship and honour, to testify his gratitude for their having elected him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by sending him golden crowns; and Athens distinguished herself above all the rest by her zeal. Neoptolemus the poet had written, purposely for that festival, a tragedy, *entitled Cinyras, in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony,

* Suetonius, among the presages of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observes, that Mnester, the Pantomime, exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day Philip was murdered.

twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that surpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace being arrived, he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with a majestic air, in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a considerable space between themselves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of surveying him; and also to show that he considered the affection which the Grecians bore him, as his safest guard.

But all the festivity and pomp of these nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refusal to do an act of justice, that occasioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted, in the most shocking manner, Pausanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king to interpose his power. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after having divorced Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias's complaints. However, to console him in some measure, and express the high esteem and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury directs itself against his judge, and he forms the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in a most horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. Pausanias, the better to put his bloody design in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony; when the eyes

of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtless to make his vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the greatness of the injury which he had received, and for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long solicited that prince in vain for the satisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the space which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus observes, that he was assassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The assassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the pursuers time to overtake him. Pausanias was immediately cut to pieces upon the spot. [a] Thus died Philip, at forty-seven years of age, after having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, died also the same year.

A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

Demosthenes had private notice sent him of Philip's death; and in order to prepare the Athenians to resume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and said, that the night before he had had a dream, which promised some great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occasion the people abandoned themselves to the transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes particularly had inspired them with these sentiments; for he himself appeared in public crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dressed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but seven days. He also engaged the Athenians to offer sacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pausanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occasion we do not recognise either Demosthenes or the Athenians; and we can scarce

[a] Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 440.

conceive how it came to pass that, in so detestable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at least, did not induce them to dissemble such sentiments as reflected dishonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which showed that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

SECT. VIII. *Memorable actions and sayings of Philip. Good and bad qualities of that prince.*

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expressions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their most shining actions; because in the latter they generally study their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propose themselves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they speak and act from nature, they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without art and disguise. M. de Tourreil has collected with sufficient industry most of the memorable actions and sayings of Philip, and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connexion in the recital of these detached actions and sayings.*

Though Philip loved flattery so far as to reward the adulation of Thrasideus with the title of king in Thessaly, he, however, at some intervals loved truth. He permitted [x] Aristotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his service to tell him every day, before he gave audience, "Phi-"lip, remember thou art mortal."

[y] He * discovered great moderation, even when

[x] Arist. Epist. Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian. lib. viii. c. 15.

[y] Senec. de Irâ, l. iii. c. 23.

* *Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit et contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni.*

he was spoken to in offensive and injurious terms; and also, which is no less worthy of admiration, when truth was told him: a great quality (says Seneca) in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. At the close of an audience which he gave to some Athenian ambassadors, who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service? "The greatest service thou couldst do us," said Democharés, "would be to hang thyself." Philip, without the least emotion, though he perceived all the persons present were highly offended at these words, made the following answer: "Go, tell your "superiors, that those who dare to make use of "such insolent language, are more haughty, and "less peaceably inclined, than they who can for-"give them."

[z] Being present, in an indecent posture, at the sale of some captives, one of them, going up to him, whispered in his ear, "Let down the lappet of "your robe:" upon which Philip replied, "Set "the man at liberty; I did not know till now that "he was one of my friends."

[a] The whole court soliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him publicly in the Olympic games; "What won't "they attempt," replied Philip, "should I do them "any injury, since they laugh at me, after having "received so many favours at my hand?"

[b] His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spoke ill of him: "Yes, indeed," says he, "and so he'll go and speak injuriously of "me every where." Another time, when they advised him to dismiss a man of probity, who had reproached him: "Let us first take care," says he, "that we have not given him any reason to do so." Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour

[z] Plut. [a] Id. [b] Plut. in Apophth.

with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him; on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applauses, which occasioned another fine saying of this prince's: "It is in the power of kings to "make themselves beloved or hated."

[c] Being urged to assist, with the influence and authority he had with the judges, a person whose reputation would be quite lost, by the sentence which was going to be pronounced against him; "I had rather," says he, "he should lose his re-"putation, than I mine."

[d] Philip, rising from an entertainment at which he had sitten several hours, was addressed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cause, and to hear several reasons she had to allege, which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave sentence against her; upon which she replied very calmly, "I appeal." "How!" says Philip, "from your king? To whom then?" "To "Philip when fasting," replied the woman. The manner in which he received this answer, would do honour to the most sober prince. He gave the cause a second hearing; acknowledged the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself to make amends for it.

[e] A poor woman used to appear often before him, to sue for audience and to beseech him to put an end to her law-suit; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exasperated at these refusals, which had been so often repeated, she replied one day with emotion; "If you have not time to do me "justice, be no longer king." Philip was strongly affected with this rebuke, which a just indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and far from being offended at it, he satisfied her that instant, and afterwards became more punctual in giving audience. He was sensible, that in fact a king and a judge are the same thing; that the throne is a tribunal; that the sovereign authority is a supreme power

[c] Plut. [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid.

and at the same time an indispensable obligation to do justice; that to distribute it to his subjects, and to grant them the time necessary for that purpose, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that he ought to appoint persons to assist him in this function, but not to disburthen himself absolutely from it; and that he was no less obliged to be a judge than a king. All these circumstances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very sensible expression;* "Be no longer king;" and Philip comprehended all its force.

[f] He understood raillery, was very fond of smart sayings, and very happy at them himself. Having received a wound near the throat, and his surgeon importuning him daily with some new request: "Take what thou wilt," says he, "for thou hast "me by the throat."

[g] It is also related, that after hearing two villains, who accused each other of various crimes, he banished the one, and sentenced the other to follow him.

[h] Menecrates, the physician, who was so mad as to fancy himself Jupiter, wrote to Philip in these terms: "Menecrates Jupiter, to Philip greeting." Philip answered; "Philip to Menecrates, health "and reason."† But this king did not stop here; for he hit upon a pleasant remedy for his visionary correspondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a separate table, where nothing was served up to him but incense and perfume, whilst all the other guests fed upon the most exquisite dainties. The first transports of joy with which he was seized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man; but, hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tired with the cha-

[f] Plut. [g] Id. [h] Ælian. lib. xii. cap. 51.

* Καὶ μὴ βασίλευε.

† The Greek word ὑγιαίνειν signifies both those things.

racter of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

[i] Philip made an answer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime minister. That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to sleep; "I indeed sleep," says he, "but "Antipater wakes."

[k] Parmenio, hearing the ambassadors of all Greece murmuring one day because Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: "Do "not wonder," says he, "if he sleeps whilst you "wake; for he waked whilst you slept." By this he wittily reproached them for their supineness in neglecting their interests, whilst Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demosthenes was perpetually observing to them with his usual freedom.

[l] Every one of the ten tribes of Athens used to elect a new general every year. These did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generalissimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and said, "In my whole "life I could never find but one general, (Parmenio,) "whereas the Athenians can find ten every year "at the very instant they want them."

The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle on the birth of his son, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men; and at the same time, the taste he himself had for the polite arts and sciences. The other letters of his, which are still extant, do him no less honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to consider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that M. de Tourreil is the author of most of the subsequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were greater as a warrior or a statesman.

[i] Plutarch. [k] Id. [l] Id. in Apoph. p. 177.

Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful and formidable enemies, he employed sometimes artifice, and sometimes force to defeat them. He uses his endeavours with success to divide his opponents. To strike the surer, he eludes and wards off the blows which were aimed at himself; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuse victory; equally ready to pursue or wait for it, he either hastens his pace or slackens it, as necessity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wisdom; in fine, he is ever immoveable, ever fixed within the just bounds which divide boldness from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king nearly as much master of his allies as of his own subjects, and no less formidable in treaties than in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own superintendent, his own prime minister and generalissimo. We see him fired with an insatiable thirst of glory, searching for it where it is sold at the highest price; making fatigue and danger his dearest delights; forming incessantly that just, that speedy harmony of reflection and action which military expeditions require; and with all these advantages turning the fury of his arms against commonwealths, exhausted by long wars, torn by intestine divisions, sold by their own citizens, served by a body of mercenary or undisciplined troops; obstinately deaf to good advice, and seemingly determined on their ruin.

He unites in himself two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, viz. a steadiness and calmness of soul that rendered him attentive to take advantage of every juncture, and to seize the favourable moment without being disconcerted by disappointments; this calmness, I say, was united with an activity, ardour, and vivacity, which were regardless of intervals for rest, of the difference of seasons, or the greatest of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in fight.

Demosthenes, who cannot be suspected of flattering him, gives a glorious testimony of him on this head; for which reason I will cite his own words. [m] "I saw," says this orator, "this very Philip, "with whom we disputed for sovereignty and em- "pire; I saw him, though covered with wounds, "his eye struck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed "both in his hands and feet; still resolutely rush "into the midst of dangers, and ready to deliver "up to fortune any other part of his body she "might desire, provided he might live honourably "and gloriously with the rest of it."

Philip was not only brave himself, but inspired his whole army with the same valour. Instructed by able masters in the science of war, as the reader has seen, he had brought his troops to the most exact, regular discipline; and trained up men capable of seconding him in his great enterprises. He well knew how, without lessening his own authority, to familiarize himself with his soldiers; and commanded rather as a father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever it was consistent with discipline. And indeed, from his affability, which merited so much the greater submission and respect, as he required less, and seemed to dispense with it, his soldiers were always ready to follow him to the greatest dangers, and paid him the most implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater use of military stratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been exposed in his youth, had taught him the necessity of precautions, and the art of resources. A wise diffidence, which is of service, as it shows danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irresolute, but cautious and prudent. What reason soever he might have to flatter himself with the hope of success, he never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the enemy only in vigi-

[m] Demosth. pro Ctes. 483.

lance. Ever accurate in his projects, and inexhaustible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his designs: and his dexterity in not suffering his designs to be discovered no less admirable. Impenetrable as to his secrets, even to his best friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have observed, that he strenuously endeavoured to lull the Athenians asleep, by a specious outside of peace; and to lay silently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous security and blind indolence.

But these exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his excess in eating and carousing, to which he abandoned himself with the utmost intemperance; he also has been reproached with the most dissolute and abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequented his palace. A set of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worse than these, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and powerful; such were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these vices; for this might be suspected in so avowed an enemy; but Theopompus,[n] a famous historian, who had written the history of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantageous character of him. "Philip," says he,[o] "despised modesty and regularity of life. He "lavished his esteem and liberality on men aban- "doned to debauchery and the last excesses of li- "centiousness. He was pleased to see the compa- "nions of his pleasures excel no less in the abo-

[n] Diod. Sicul. l. xvi. p. 408.

[o] Theopom. apud Athen. l. vi. p. 260.

"minable arts of injustice and malignity, than in "the science of debauchery. What species of in- "famy, what sort of crimes, did they not com- mit!" &c.

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politics. He is considered in this respect as a prince of the greatest abilities that ever lived. And, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated; and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce seated on his throne, and surrounded on every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, such a project as this? However, he did not once lose sight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in short, every thing terminated in that point. He was very lavish of his gold and silver, merely to engage creatures in his service. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the assistance of pensioners, on whom he had settled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally succeeded in causing the deliberations to take a turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wisest and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we see him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and subterraneous passages, the outlets alone of which discovered the design.

[p] Polyænus shows us evidently the methods

[p] Polyæn. l. iv. c. 19.

whereby he subjected Thessaly, which was of great advantage to the completing of his other designs. "He did not," says he, "carry on an open "war against the Thessalians, but took advantage "of the discord that divided the cities and the whole "country into different factions. He succoured "those who sued for his assistance; and whenever "he had conquered, he did not entirely ruin the "vanquished, he did not disarm them, nor raze their "walls; on the contrary, he protected the weakest, "and endeavoured to weaken and subject the "strongest: in a word, he rather fomented than "appeased their divisions, having in every place "orators in his pay, those artificers of discord, "those firebrands of commonwealths. And it was "by these stratagems, not by his arms, that Philip "subdued Thessaly."

[q] All this is a masterpiece, a miracle, in point of politics. But what engines does this art set to work, what methods does it employ to compass its designs? Deceit, craft, fraud, falsehood, perfidy, and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, insinuating, knavish, subtle genius; but we do not find him possessed of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his opinion just and lawful. He gave his word with a firm resolution to break it; and made promises which he would have been very sorry to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion as he was perfidious, and made his glory consist in deceiving all with whom he treated. [r] He did not blush to say, "That children were amused with "playthings, and men with oaths."

How shameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than

[q] Demosth. Olynth. ii. p. 22. [r] Æian. l. vii. c. 12.

any other person of his age, and to leave so infamous an idea of himself to all posterity? What idea should we form to ourselves in our intercourse with the world, of a man who should value himself upon tricking others, and rank insincerity and fraud among virtues? Such a character in private life, is destested as the bane and ruin of society. How then can it become an object of esteem and admiration in princes and ministers of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men (because of the eminence of their stations, and the importance of the employments they fill) to revere sincerity, justice, and, above all, the sanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare promise among private persons ought to be sacred and inviolable, if they have the least sense of honour; but how much more ought it to be so among princes? "We are bound," says a celebrated writer,* "to speak truth to our neighbour; for "the use and application of speech implies a tacit "promise of truth; speech having been given us "for no other purpose. It is not a compact be- "tween one private man with another; it is a com- "mon compact of mankind in general, and a kind "of right of nations, or rather a law of nature. "Now, whoever tells an untruth, violates this law "and common compact." How greatly is this enormity increased, when the sanctity of an oath has intervened, and the name of God been called upon to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties? "Were sincerity and truth banished "from every other part of the earth," said John I. king of France, upon his being solicited to violate a treaty, "they ought to be found in the hearts "and in the mouths of kings."

** Mezerai.

* M. Nicole, on the epistle of the 19th Sunday after Whitsuntide.

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means to make a negotiation succeed. But though this were the case, yet can it ever be lawful to purchase such success at the expence of probity, honour, and religion. [t] "If your father-in-law" (Ferdinand the Catholic,) said Lewis XII. to Philip archduke of Austria, "has acted perfi-"diously, I am determined not to imitate him, and "I am much more pleased in having lost a king-"dom (Naples) which I am able to recover, than "I should have been had I lost my honour, which "can never be recovered."

But those politicians who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themselves even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers, whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no further than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfectly successful in the administration of public affairs, in treaties of peace and war; in a word, in the most important negotiations, without once making use of artifice and deceit? An Aristides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and so many more, some of whom were so very scrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falsehood, even laughing and in sport. Cyrus, the most famous conqueror of the East, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a certain truth, that no success, how brilliant soever, can, or ought to cover the shame and ignominy which arise from breach of faith and perjury.

[t] Mezerai.

THE END OF VOL. IV.

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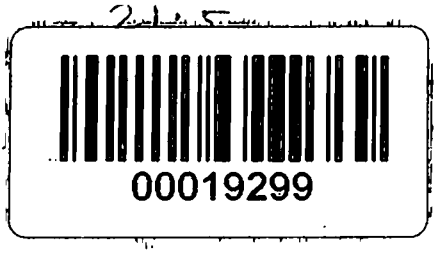
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